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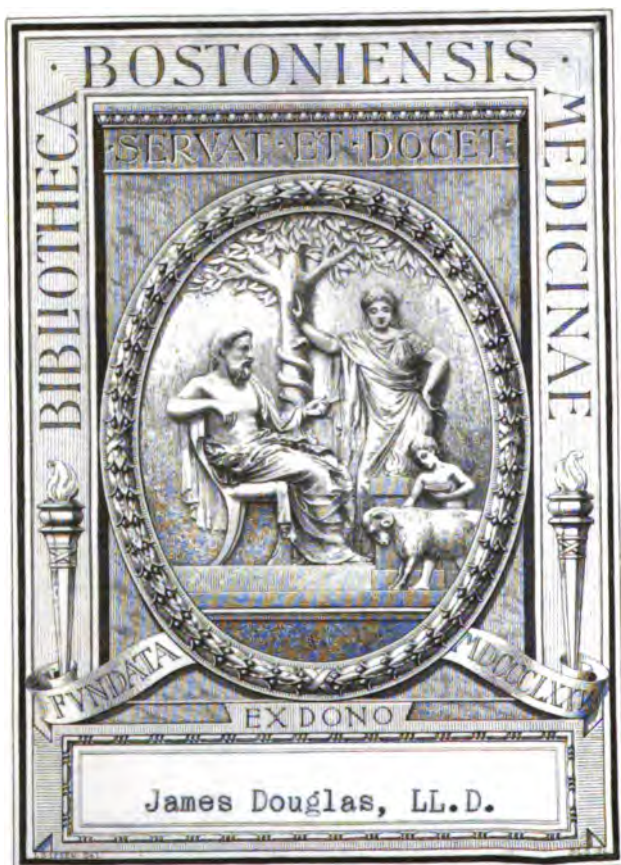
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JOURNALS AND REMINISCENCES

DOUGLAS



CAT.

*Yours, very truly,
J. Bouglas.*

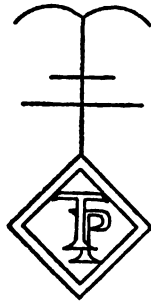
JOURNALS AND REMINISCENCES

OF

JAMES DOUGLAS, M.D.

1800 - 1886.

EDITED BY HIS SON



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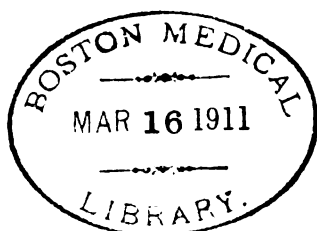
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INTRODUCTION

The following sketch of the life of my father is in part autobiographical and part drawn from my own recollections.

He was born with the Nineteenth Century and lived till its eighty-sixth year. His earliest recollections were of the boisterous rejoicings over Nelson's great victory at Trafalgar. He was a surgeon's apprentice when Waterloo was fought. His first professional employment was in 1818 as surgeon to a whaler, which was fortunate in penetrating the Arctic Circle nearer to the North Pole than any ships prior to that date, except those under the command of Sir John Ross. So near did he live to the empire-making epoch of the eighteenth century that Warren Hastings had not been dead two years when he entered the service of the East India Company. He knew Carey and Marshman and therefore witnessed the early efforts of modern missionary enterprise and its success toward securing the abolition of sutteeism and other cruel customs. He was one of the first pupils of Robert Liston, the father of modern surgery and one of the first to apply his teachings on this continent. He thus not only witnessed but took a humble part in the great revolu-

tion by which surgery has been bereft of its terrors, which has mitigated the horrors of the operating table by the introduction of anesthetics, and whose crowning triumph has been the application of antiseptics, rendering it possible for the modern surgeon to perform operations which, despite the greater dexterity of his predecessor it would have been sheer murder on his part to attempt. He also, though not a homeopathist, rejoiced in the victory of the rational school of medicine, which banished from the pharmacopoeia a host of magical drugs, and from the practice of physic those copious and noxious doses, unless drenched with which our forefathers considered themselves neglected by their family physician and unless supplied with which they considered themselves defrauded of the tangible value for which they paid their medical attendant so much per annum. After a short residence in the East Indies the impulse of independence and the promise of higher pay tempted him in 1824 to join, as surgeon and physician, one of those ill-considered and ill-fated colonization expeditions to Central America, for which British enthusiasm over the emancipation of Spanish America from the rule of England's old rival, Spain, made it so easy for speculative promoters between 1820 and 1830 to gain support from the British public. How this failed, by what a strange chain of accidents he came finally to settle in Canada, after a short residence in Utica, fills the most interesting and profitable chapter of his active life.

Thus, and in a hundred other ways, he saw the old system of government, of social and commercial life

and of science, pass away and give place to the new. One generation after another was born and died while he lived on; but the longer he lived the more his thoughts reverted to the past, which to us was history, but to him was more real than the present.

In this shifting scene he played a very inconspicuous part. He possessed intellectual ability and force of will which would have made him a leader of men, had he been ambitious and had he sought a sphere where the full blaze of publicity would have fallen upon him; for in the practice of his own profession of surgery he was original and skilful to an eminent degree. And when he undertook any public work or advocated any public measure, which, however, he did only when the work or the measure fell within the sphere of his professional activity, he threw his whole strength into the enterprise or its advocacy, with such impulsive energy that he bore down all opposition and carried his point by sheer force of attack. Though overbearing, there lay in his nature a depth of tenderness, which never came to the surface more attractively than in the presence of pain. While intolerant of disobedience or querulousness on the part of his patients, many a sufferer lay in unrest for hours waiting for his visit and for the luxury of being lifted and turned by his strong arms, and encouraged by his unfaltering and sincere opinion, even if adverse. His office was a clinic for the poor, long before the word was used in its present sense. One reason why he inspired confidence was that he never exhibited that doubt as to what is the matter with their patients, which some unfortunate practitioners cannot conceal,

and which all very often feel. He acted always up to the wise maxim:

Look wise,
Say nothing,
An unerring way

When doctors nothing have to say.

He shunned popularity. He wrote a clear and concise style, yet never contributed a single article to even a medical journal. He was a fascinating story teller and a consummate actor, and with practice would have been an able speaker; yet he foreswore politics, both municipal and national, during the years of his active professional life. Nor did he thus isolate himself from indolence, but from obedience to self-imposed rules of life. He looked upon himself as the servant of his patients and at liberty to follow no extraneous occupation, and to allow his mind to be distracted by no pursuit which might absorb the time and thought which he considered to be theirs, without subtraction. He was a superb man, endowed not only with remarkable gifts of mind, but a massive and well-balanced frame. Every feature of the face, the size and contour of the head, even the bushy crop of hair, which refused to be smoothed, but stood erect and defiant, bespoke strength of purpose and activity of intellect.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, after once meeting him, said he did not know whether most to fear or to admire him, but that in his head and figure he was the nearest approach to a Jupiter Olympus of any man he had ever seen. He had many of the qualities of greatness, for his character possessed the elements out

of which either a man of wide professional repute or a statesman of commanding influence might have been compounded, and therefore those who knew him well wondered that he remained obscure. Perhaps he knew himself better than others knew him, and may have suspected that the strong properties of his nature were mingled with others so inconsistent that the resultant was a character too eccentric and full of contradictions to bear the scrutiny of the public eye. It is just such anomalies that give individuality to human life. They make some public men picturesque, but they more often make them dangerous. Not a little of the evil work of the world is done by its strong men, honest and conscious of their perfect integrity, but using their strength amiss under the impulse of some extravagant whim, grotesque fancy, or overweening confidence in the infallibility of their judgment.

He left these fragments of his recollections of his life, but they were written when he was more than seventy years of age and when his memory and descriptive powers had become unfortunately impaired. If he could but have thrown into his narrative the phrases, emphasis and gesture which made him so attractive as a story-teller, his reminiscences would have been unique. But alas, the fine flavor of conversation is as incommunicable as tact and experience. Mere words cannot preserve them. They die with us, just as there dies with an old doctor, the more perhaps is the pity, that marvelous medical skill and keen instinct, which a practitioner, who has been for half a century in contact with disease, acquires, he knows not how, and which he cannot describe or com-

municate. It must be buried with him, to be gathered afresh through experience by the next generation. It is perhaps well that it should be so, for with it is buried all his prejudices and faulty conclusions.

JAMES DOUGLAS

CHAPTER I

HIS BOYHOOD AND APPRENTICESHIP TO A SURGEON

"Now on the verge of seventy-nine years I realize that time has told and is daily telling upon my mental and physical powers. Some of them have been cut off by it altogether, and some are fading away." Thus my father prefaced the story of his life. His recollections of long-past events were vivid, and they are confirmed by journals which he kept of three of his earliest professional engagements.

My father's narrative commences in the conventional way:

"In writing an autobiography, it is usual to give an account of the writer's progenitors. In accordance with this custom, I have to state that my Father was the Son of Mr. Richard Douglas, a Gentleman who had retired with a competence from business as an Architect and Builder. My recollections of my paternal Grandfather, are of a tall old Gentleman, with a white wig, and a gold headed cane, who used to interest me with accounts of his acquaintance and intercourse with John Wesley. He died at Winlaton, at the age of ninety-eight. My Father was his second son, born in 1769, brought up among the early

followers of John Wesley, and having personal knowledge of that remarkable man, he became strongly attached to him, and to his doctrines. I cannot do better than give an extract from the minutes of the Wesleyan Conference of 1853, which announced my Father's death:

“ ‘His earliest associations being with John Wesley and his followers, and being also greatly influenced by the councils and the Christian example of his Mother, he united himself with the Methodists, and, at the Conference of 1793 was appointed to a Circuit, and continued humbly, laboriously, and faithfully, to discharge his duties as a Christian Minister. While praying with a dying woman, he was seized with paralysis, and exchanged mortality for life, on February, 1853, in the 89th year of his life, and in the 60th of his Ministry.’

“During the years 1798-9 and six years after his induction into the Ministry, my Father was stationed at Aberdeen, in Scotland, and there became acquainted with Mr. James Mellis, a retired Brewer, whose wife, neé Mary Stuart, was of an old Roman Catholic family; they had two Children, a son and a daughter. As was usual then, as now, the Son accompanied his Father to the Scotch Church, and the daughter went with her Mother to the Catholic Church. However, ‘Amor vincit omnia.’ Miss Mary Mellis became the Wife of the Rev. George Douglas. They were married in Aberdeen on the 4th day of July, 1799, by the Rev. Rt. Doig, and I was born in Brechin in Angus, on 20th of May, 1800, and my birth is registered in the City of Aberdeen. Dur-

ing the thirteen years subsequent to my birth, my Father was stationed successively in Brechin, in the Isle of Man, in Carlisle, and in Dumfries, in which two latter places I received the principal part of my education.

"My Father was very fond of rod fishing and among my early recollections are those of accompanying him on his fishing excursions. At Carlisle, and at Dumfries, there was capital trout fishing, but, as a Methodist Minister could not well be seen going thro' the Streets with a rod and a basket, I had always to join him at the rivers side with these necessities."

My grandfather left a short account of himself. Judging from it, his life was spent in one long process of introspection and self-dissection. Judging from my father's account of him, he was a kindly, considerate and a very hard working, earnest, simple minded man, not without his weaknesses and foibles; ruled by his children rather than ruling them. When I saw him, only a month before his death, he looked like John Wesley personified.

He had the same strong features we are so familiar with in the likeness of John Wesley that prefaced his hymn book. His hair was long and flowed in thick white curls over his shoulders. The old gentleman, though in his 89th year, was vigorous in body but much enfeebled in mind. His only literary work had been collecting religious anecdotes. Early in the last century religious anecdotes were as popular among those attached to evangelicalism as were the Percy anecdotes in secular circles. His collection

filled several volumes and passed through several editions. The anecdotes were grouped under headings in the usual disjointed manner of compilations of that kind, the doings and sayings of saints side by side with those of sinners, each anecdote carrying its appropriate theological moral.

Napoleon Bonaparte and Lady Huntington, though in very different spheres, had been both prominent characters in his day and afforded material for many of his anecdotes. When I had the privilege of being with him, just before his death, he spent hours telling me stories, all composed of the shattered fragments of his old stock, linked together in the most grotesque and incongruous combination. Napoleon and Lady Huntington were still uppermost in his mind, and they figured together in the same narrative in exquisitely amusing situations. As in the case of most aged people the imagination survived the memory. When the dear old gentleman went in search of his hat and cane to visit his parishioners, all of whom had been for a generation in their graves, the only means of diverting him was to give him a clew which started him on a round of his anecdotes.

My father's Journal continues:

"During the winter of 1812-13, I was sent to the Wesleyan College at Woodhouse Grove in Yorkshire, and there placed in Sallust; certainly, I was in the first class, but, having left the Academy in Dumfries, where I was advanced in Virgil, I found myself losing time. Having in vain urged my Father to re-

move me, I took French leave, and started for Dumfries on foot."

The father submitted to what the boy of twelve dictated, to the irreparable injury of the character of the lad and the future man. A strong disposition, uncontrolled in early life, became in later life objectionably wilful. When under the strain of overwork, and when irritated by confrères, who were professionally his inferiors, he was apt to yield to unbecoming displays of temper and to offensive arbitrariness. An unhesitating reliance on his own judgment remained as a prominent trait of his character. And he possessed to an eminent degree the faculty of self-justification which accompanies most self-reliant natures. The Journal continues:

"At the ensuing Conference, my Father was stationed at Penrith in Cumberland, and I was bound there for five years, as an apprentice to Dr. Thomas Law, an uncle of the late Lord Ellenborough. My indenture is dated on October 3rd, 1813.

"Penrith was in the centre of the Lake country. The county was studded with the castles, the halls, and the mansions of many of the nobility and gentry—the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Lonsdale, Earl Thanet, Lady Brougham, Sir Henry Dacre, and others. As Dr. Law was the principal Medical Man, he as was then the custom, made up and dispensed his own prescriptions, I therefore found myself fully occupied.

"Medical pupillage in England sixty years ago, was different to what it now is, and very different indeed to what it is in Canada. A statement of my duties and my privileges as an apprentice, will best illustrate

this. During the second year of my time, I had charge of the Surgery, and made up the prescriptions. I had to visit the pauper class, as well in the country as in the town, and to report on any emergency or on the appearance of any grave symptom. Unless occupied in the Surgery, I was allowed between eight and nine o'clock in the evening for recreation, and occasionally a day's holiday, for trout fishing in the river Eamont, or in one of the neighbouring lakes, or for rook-shooting in the woods of Lowther Castle or of Brougham Hall.

"As perquisites, I had the shilling, which was the fee for blood-letting or tooth-drawing. That for blood-letting particularly was very remunerative as it was the custom of the country people, generally to be bled every Spring, and of many, every Spring and Autumn. These perquisites, during three and a half years of my apprenticeship rendered me independent of my Father, for the expense of clothes and pocket money. In the Autumn of 1818, having completed my indenture, I left Penrith with many pleasant reminiscences of the time I had spent there, and of the kindness of Dr. Law and of his amiable wife.

"I am not generally a *laudator temporis acti*, but I must say, that, in my opinion, the training of Medical Students sixty years ago, was calculated to turn out more efficient and practical men, than the system of pupillage of the present day. The former gave them a more thorough and minute knowledge of the *materia medica*, and of its use and effects in grave disease, as well as in trifling ailments; it moreover gave them habits of thought, of reflection, and of self-re-

liance and responsibility, which were a solid ground work for general practice. In Minor Surgery, the training of the pupil in the treatment of injuries, in the application of bandages, and in the numerous little offices for alleviating the effects of disease, gave him, as a general practitioner, a great advantage over a student, whose medical and surgical education is restricted to lectures, and to witnessing the ordinary practice in the wards of an hospital,—whose knowledge of drugs is confined to books, and who is unable to distinguish between arsenic, tartar emetic, and common salt.”

Dr. Law cancelled the indenture on September 1, though it did not expire till October 3, that my father might spend a month at home before entering himself as a student of medicine at Edinburgh. The original of his indenture is in my possession. It is as follows:

INDENTURE DULY MADE ON THE 3RD DAY OF OCTOBER, 1813 APPRENTICING James Douglas, Son of the Reverend George Douglas of Penrith, Cumberland, to Thomas Law, Surgeon and Apothecary, for the term of five years.

THIS INDENTURE Made the third Day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirteen Between The Reverend George Douglas of Penrith in the County of Cumberland And James Douglas of the same place the son of the said George Douglas of the one part and Thomas Law of the same place Surgeon and Apothecary of the other part WITNESSETH That the said James Douglas of his own free Will and by and with the Licence and Consent of the said George Douglas his natural and lawful father and Guardian testified by his being a party to and Signing and sealing these presents Hath put placed and bound himself Apprentice

to the said Thomas Law to learn and be taught the trade art mystery or business of a surgeon Apothecary and Man-midwife Which he the said Thomas Law now practices and to continue with and serve him as an apprentice from the day of the date of these presents for and during and unto the full end and term of five years from thence next ensuing and fully to be completed and ended. AND the said George Douglas Doth for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators and for each and every of them and for the said James Douglas his Son Covenant promise and agree to and with the said Thomas Law his Executors Administrators and Assigns by these presents in manner and form following (that is to say)

That he the said James Douglas shall and will diligently and faithfully serve him the said Thomas Law, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands do and perform, Damage to his said Master he shall not do nor Willingly permit to be done by others, the goods of his said Master he shall not Waste, nor lend them without his Consent to any, he shall neither buy nor sell without his Masters leave, Taverns Inns or Ale-houses he shall not frequent, At Cards Dice or any unlawful game he shall not play, Fornication Commit nor Matrimony contract nor from the service of his said Master Day or night shall Absent himself, but in all things as an honest and faithful apprentice shall and will demean and behave himself towards his said Master and all his during all the said term of five years. ALSO That he the said George Douglas shall and will during all the said Term of five years find provide and allow for the said James Douglas his son sufficient and proper Meat Drink Wearing Apparel Washing and Lodging AND the said Thomas Law in Consideration of the premises and for and in Consideration of the Sum of five Shillings of good and lawful money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Current in England in hand well and truly paid by the said George Douglas at or before the signing and sealing of these presents The Receipt Whereof is hereby Acknowledged Doth for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators and for each and every of them covenant promise and agree to and with the said George Douglas and

BOYHOOD AND APPRENTICESHIP 23

James Douglas That he the said Thomas Law according to the best of his power skill and knowledge shall and will teach and Instruct or cause to be taught and Instructed him the said James Douglas in the said Trade, Art, Mystery and business of a Surgeon Apothecary and Man Midwife and in all things Whatsoever incident and belonging thereto in such manner as he the said Thomas Law now or at any time hereafter during the said term of five years shall use practice teach or deal in the same IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Signed Sealed and delivered

(being first duly stamp't)

	GEORGE DOUGLAS (SEAL)
(Sd) Henry Law	JAS. DOUGLAS (SEAL)
(Wm.) Jackson	THO. LAW (SEAL)

Penrith Sept. 1, 1818.

I hereby certify that James Douglas has faithfully completed his Apprenticeship to this day and that I give him the remainder of his service that he may visit his Father and Friends.

Tho. Law.

CHAPTER II

STUDIES MEDICINE IN EDINBURGH AND SPENDS HIS SUMMER HOLIDAYS AS SURGEON OF A SPITZBERGEN WHALER

The Journal gives with some detail the account of his first years at Edinburgh University:

“In October, 1818, I arrived in Edinburgh, and took lodgings with a respectable widow in Niddry Street. My menage was of an humble description, I paid four shillings a week for my room, lodging, and cooking; I found myself; and on the whole, I passed the winter comfortably. My curriculum at the University, comprised the practice of the Hospital, the lectures on the practice of Physic by Dr. Gregory,—on Chemistry by Dr. Hope,—on Obstetrics by Dr. Hamilton and on Anatomy by Dr. Barclay. My memories of these professors are very vivid. Dr. Gregory was a magnificent specimen of a Scottish gentleman; tall, stately and dignified, urbane in manner, and with the faculty of impressing his class with the matter of his lecture. Dr. Hope conveyed an impression of extreme self importance. He was intolerant of the least noise or interruption, and perceiving this, the scamps of students took advantage of it, by stamp-

ing, and making noisy demonstrations on the result of each experiment. Dr. Hamilton was a small and rather fidgety gentleman, very impressive in manner, and a good lecturer. There was another Dr. Hamilton, a square built, stately old gentleman with a cocked hat, and a dress of ancient cut; he was distinguished from Dr. G. Hamilton, the Obstetrician, by the sobriquet of Cocky Hamilton. But my *beau ideal* of a lecturer was Dr. Barclay, a quaint, active, and impulsive little man, who gave two separate and distinct courses of lectures each session, one of them at 11 A. M., and another at 6 P. M. daily. He went into the matter of his lecture and demonstrations with his whole heart and soul. In the middle of a demonstration, if he had occasion to refer to some authority, he would take the scalpel between his teeth, while he turned over the leaves of the book."

Short as the session was, he cut it shorter to accept the position of surgeon to a Greeland whaler.

His Journal of that, to him, eventful voyage was published in the Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for 1873, and was considered of sufficient interest by that most critical of weeklies, the *Saturday Review*, to deserve a long article, in which the information it contained was summarized with considerable amplitude. The critic says: "We have before us the 'Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec' for the session of 1873. . . . Perhaps the most interesting paper in this series is the 'Journal of an Arctic Voyage' made by the surgeon of a whaler fifty-five

years ago. The stripling of nineteen years, who was thus entrusted with the health and lives of fifty men, is now an M. D. of seventy-four, and cherishes in a Canadian home the memories of a youth passed in Britain. The author sailed from Hull, which was then largely concerned in whaling. It is not wonderful that the supply of northern whales should have failed under the systematic persecution of which this Journal furnishes an example. Even the surgeon had an interest in the fishery, being entitled to a guinea on every whale caught. The government allowed a bounty. The system of bounties has been long since condemned, but if any trade deserved encouragement it was that of whaling, without which scientific voyages to the Polar Sea would not have been made."

I reproduce the Journal, omitting a few unimportant paragraphs:

A WHALING VOYAGE TO SPITZBERGEN IN 1818.

By JAMES DOUGLAS, M.D.

[THE perusal of a journal which was kept in high northern latitudes fifty-five years ago, may not be without interest at this time, when so great attention is being given to the late discoveries in the Arctic regions, and to the expeditions now being fitted out in the confident hope of reaching the North Pole, through the open water which is supposed to exist to the north of Spitzbergen.

This journal is given *verbatim et literatim*, as written at the time; and allowance must be asked for it as the unaided production of a youth of eighteen years of age, who went out as surgeon of a whaler, which, in pursuit of the objects of its voyage, reached the high northern latitude of 81.

It was written *currente calamo*, without any pretensions

to style or scientific knowledge, and without any idea of its being seen by any excepting the members of the writer's own family.

The intrepid Arctic navigators—the brothers Dannatt, the Scoresbys (father and son), Capt. Sadler, and others, who navigated the Polar regions at the close of the last century and at the early part of the present, have passed away, and, excepting the younger Scoresby, have left no record behind them. I perfectly recollect, however, that Capt. Ed. Dannatt and Capt. Ashe expressed their belief in the existence of land at or in the vicinity of the Pole. They based their belief on the appearance of the heavy ice and on the detached icebergs which, during the summer season, were drifted by the current to the southward.]

WHILE a medical student in Edinburgh, during the winter session of 1818, I received an appointment as surgeon of the ship *Trafalgar*, of Hull, Captain E. Dannatt, commander, during a voyage to the Arctic regions; and at the same time was notified to report myself at Hull on or before the 12th March, for the purpose of submitting myself to the medical examiner appointed by Government to examine into the qualifications and fitness of candidates. This examination is not very strict, and consisted in ascertaining that I had served an apprenticeship of five years to Dr. Tho. Law (an uncle of Lord Ellenborough), and that I had passed a session at college in Edinburgh. However, with my certificate of qualification, I entered into office at once, at a salary of four guineas a month, one guinea for every whale caught, and one guinea for every thousand seals killed. I was supplied with everything needful, with the exception of clothes and bedding.

March 13th.—The King's officers came on board this morning and mustered the crew, to the number of 36. This is done by the Government, which allows a bounty of £300 to each ship, as well as the spirits, tea, coffee, sugar, and all other dutiable articles, duty free. On their part, the owners are bound to carry and man at least seven boats, with seven men to each boat. As this, during war-time, is difficult, and as

Government is extremely desirous to encourage the fishery, it exempts the requisite number of harpooners, boat-steerers, and other skilled hands, from the press-gang; and obliges the owners to fill up the requisite crew by taking Shetland-men, in passing: these are a hardy race of men, and, from their almost amphibious habits, are admirably adapted for boat-work.

The fresh provisions and other stores being got on board, the *Trafalgar* left dock, passed the Spurn-lights with a fair wind, and got fairly to sea with a light S.W. wind, which continued until the 20th, when we made Fair Island, a very rocky, barren, and mountainous-looking place, inhabited by a few poor fishermen, who certainly surprised me by their faculty of keeping their souls and bodies together. In the afternoon of the same day, Sunbrough Head, the most southerly point of Shetland, came in sight; and we were boarded by a pilot, who took us in due time into Brassa Sound. During my stay in Lerwick I was most hospitably entertained by Mr. Morrison, an agent, who made my stay there a very agreeable one. Next day being Sunday, I attended divine service, where I heard a most eloquent and impressive sermon by a venerable old man, in a church far inferior in architectural beauty to an ordinary barn.

The whole trade of Lerwick is carried on between it and Leith in two small sloops, which take to Leith eggs, poultry, stockings, and salted geese,—bringing back such necessaries as they require. Lerwick is principally noted as the rendezvous of the Greenland-men on their way to and from the north, and as the place where their crews are completed. On Thursday I took an excursion inland for a few miles, and was amply repaid for the want of roads by some of the most rugged and romantic scenery I had ever seen.

On returning to the ship I found all hands busy in preparing the ship for the ice. Some were bending gaff-topsails and fixing booms to the main and fore sails, striking the royal masts, and generally putting the ship into such a condition that at any time, and particularly when in the ice or very short-handed, the ship could be worked with very few hands. Others were fitting out a machine called a crow's-nest, to be

placed on the top of the main-top-gallant-mast, to protect the man on the look-out when the ship is in the ice. This crow's-nest, as it is called, looks like an old-fashioned pulpit; it is made out of a cask or puncheon, well lined with skins or Russo mats; the very top of the top-gallant-mast serves as a seat; a shifting weather-board protects the look-out, who is able to get in by thrusting himself through a trap-door in the bottom. The whole affair looks extremely cosy and comfortable. Others of the men were engaged hanging up quarters of fresh beef and other meat,—among which were a number of legs of mutton intended for the owners and their friends on the return of the ship to Hull. In the evening, as a boat was pushing off from the stairs, two men jostled and fell overboard; one was at once picked up. When pushing off a second time, one of the crew reached to pick up a hat on the water, and found a man under it, senseless; when got on board he soon recovered.

During the remainder of the week the crew were variously employed in preparing the vessel for the ice, and in laying in stocks of eggs, fowls, frozen milk, &c. The crew were again mustered, together with 18 Shetland-men—in all, 54 souls. They were then divided into three watches, and again subdivided into boats' crew—7 boats, with 7 men in each, viz: a harpooneer in the bow, a boat-steerer, who stands on the platform on the stern, and a seaman called a specksioneer, who has charge of the whale-lines which lay coiled in the middle of the boat. The Shetland-men only row: all pull, except the steerer, who steers with a long oar fastened to a pivot on the stern. For some days the ship was prevented proceeding to sea in consequence of gales of wind from the N.W., alternating with heavy fogs. One vessel, the *Prescott*, Greenlandman, in attempting it, went on the rocks, and was totally wrecked in the Sound by the rocks going through her bottom.

On the 1st of April we succeeded in getting to sea with a fair wind, with occasional heavy squalls. Being Sabbath-day, I, for the first time, performed my functions as chaplain, by reading the common-prayer used by the Church of England. As the captain, first officer, and most of the crew, however,

were Wesleyans, I *made compensation* by reading the whole or a part of one of *Wesley's sermons*. The singing was more remarkable for its force than its sweetness. In the evening got a thorough drenching by shipping a heavy sea.

April 3rd.—Wind still fair; great numbers of birds hovering about the ship, rather less in size than a hen, and of a dirty white color; they are very fearless of man, very ravenous, and are sometimes caught by the men with a line and a hook baited with a piece of any fat meat. When taken and daubed over with soot, and let off again, they are instantly set upon and destroyed by the others. They are called *Mallermouches*, or by the sailors *Mollymawks*.

8th.—Very stormy and dark; wind N.E., and excessively cold. As the day advanced it blew harder, with occasional sleet and snow, which rendered the decks dangerously slippery. Towards the evening it blew a hurricane, and the sea ran mountains high. The sails were all clewed up, except the close-reefed fore-top-sail, and that only to give the ship *steerage-way*.

9th.—Good Friday.—The wind still boisterous, but intermittent. About 11 o'clock we got among the ice for the first time, in 72 north latitude—longitude not known. Ice seemed newly formed, and was in small flat pieces, which, from their friction against each other, were round. This kind of ice is called by the seamen "*pancakes*." As the ship bored through them, we found the pieces getting gradually larger and larger; and the heavy swell we had in the morning almost entirely subsided. After boring through the ice until moonlight, the ship was laid-to among pieces from 20 to 40 feet in diameter, and of irregular shapes. We now experienced no night, only a duskiuess for a couple of hours.

10th.—Weather still stormy, with heavy falls of snow and sleet. A good many seals on the pieces of ice, but the weather too bad to lower the boats for them.

11th.—Wind blowing with increased violence, with a very heavy swell; a circumstance most unusual among ice. In consequence of the ship laboring so hard and beating with so much violence against the ice, were obliged to get out to sea

again to prevent the vessel being staved. Intensely cold. About noon the weather cleared up, and we found ourselves close in to the island of Jan Mayen. This island was first discovered by the Dutch, and for many years was frequented by them. They built huts for the purpose of boiling the fat of the whale and of the seals. They made more than one attempt to winter on it, but failed, the men being always found dead on the return of the vessels in spring. It is now entirely abandoned to the Polar bears and the white foxes. It is rarely seen by the Greenland-men, and only occasionally by the vessels in search of seals. It is very rugged, rocky, and mountainous; the highest peak is called Beerenberg; it is a volcano, and used to emit considerable quantities of fire, smoke stones, and ashes. Of late it has been quiet, or, rather, no eruption has been observed, perhaps from not being so much frequented. Several of the smaller hills, from their appearance, seem to have had a volcanic origin. At night, the wind abating, the ship stood away from the island, lest it should turn calm or blow on shore.

13th.—Wind from N.E. again, and a strong gale. Threw overboard 30 tons of ballast to lighten the ship. Sails close-reefed, and a very heavy sea.

15th.—Gale continues; at noon, by observation, were in latitude 70.26 N., having been driven two degrees to the south by the gale. In the evening, saw the top of Beerenberg for the first time, distant between 60 and 70 miles.

16th.—Weather beautiful and clear; ship beating to windward with all sails set, in a clear sea. In the afternoon were visited by two finners—the *Balaena-Physalus* of naturalists; they gambolled about the vessel, apparently feeding, for a considerable length of time. The larger one could not be less than 90 feet long. Finners, when full-grown, are much longer than the true whale, and are readily distinguished by a large fin on the back. They are not so fat as the *Mysticetus*; the whalebone is shorter, broader, and brittle,—consequently, of no value or use; their velocity in the water is greater, and their progress is performed by much more elevated curves or bounds. In consequence of their amazing muscular strength

and activity in the water, they are never attacked by the fishermen.

17th.—Weather dull, with occasional light showers of snow. At mid-day it cleared up, and we found ourselves in streams of thin ice; Jan Mayen N.E., distant about seven miles. The mountain distinctly seen from its base to its top; its height is about 7,000 feet; the summit seemed to be smoking. Saw number of seals on the ice, but could not succeed in killing any of them, as, being older and wiser, they tumbled into the sea at our approach.

18th.—Nearly calm, and the weather beautifully clear. We lay close in to the island, so close that we enjoyed a fine view of the icebergs attached to the land. In the evening the scene was enlivened by the arrival of some small Dutch vessels in search of seals. These are uncommonly scarce, and are supposed to have taken their annual migration to the north. Many thousands are annually killed at the west ice, principally by the Dutch, who fit out a great many small vessels for the purpose, and are very dexterous. They leave Holland late in February or early in March, and proceed direct to the ice, which they strive to make in latitude 67 or 68 N., and return early in May. They are generally very successful, much more so than the British, who send no vessels expressly for the purpose. Some of the Greenland-men occasionally call at the west ice, as we are now doing; and if, after exploring it for a few days, they, like us, do not meet with seals, they proceed to the north, to the more profitable fishery of the whale. Seals are gregarious, and at this season are found in flocks of many thousands. At this time they are young; and I do not know whether it is from their age or from the torpidity caused by the cold, but they allow the sailors to get on the pieces of ice and knock them on the head with a club. After their migration to the northward they are very wary, and make into the water on the first approach of an enemy.

19th.—Quite calm, and beautiful clear weather; attempted to shoot some birds, but, owing to the extreme cold, I could not hold the gun. The birds principally about the ship are loons, a curious bird, about the size of a wild-duck—black, with a

white breast and belly; the wings are placed very far back, the legs long and web-footed: They possess the singular faculty of being able to fly under water, not so fast as in the air, but still with a tolerable degree of velocity. Flocks of them occasionally pass the ship under water, and in clear calm weather are easily seen from the deck.

20th.—Fine weather, and fair wind. Relinquished our search for seals, and bore away to the north.

21st.—Strong wind from S.E. Ship boring to the north through streams of light ice. Weather extremely cold. During last night lost sight of Jan Mayen and of most of the birds which used to hover around us. Now and then only a solitary bird, called a burgomaster, to be seen; they are very large and tall, and perfectly white. They are seldom or never seen on the water, but either in the air or perched on a pinnacle of the ice; they are very shy.

23rd.—At noon we were by observation in lat. 74.30, and weather excessively cold.

24th.—All hands busily employed in fitting-out the whale-boats: six lines, each about 140 fathoms, are smoothly spliced together, and coiled systematically in each boat, from the centre of the coil to the circumference, so that there may be no possibility of their fouling. A harpoon is attached to the line, by the medium of a few fathoms of very fine and flexible rope. The harpoon itself is about three feet long, and is fitted with a handle six or eight feet long. Each boat is provided with a pole about twenty feet long, called a Jack-staff, carrying the ship's private signal. This is hoisted when any boat has struck a whale, to serve as a signal to the ship, as well as to the other boats, for assistance. There are, likewise, in each boat, three or four lances, to dispatch the whale when exhausted; a wooden kid, or small bucket, to throw water on the line when running out, to prevent combustion from the friction; and two long knives to cut holes in the tail for the ropes used in towing the whale to the ship. There is always a small and sharp axe in the bow, ready to cut the line in case it should run foul. Each boat, fully fitted out, is hung by tackles clear of the ship's side, and can be lowered into the water in a few seconds.

25th.—Passed some floating icebergs, looking like ships under sail at a little distance. Being now on the fishing-ground, a man is constantly stationed in the crow's-nest, on the look-out.

26th.—Fine clear weather; huge masses of ice on all sides, some shooting to a great height, like spires. Some high pieces with flat tops, and the many smaller pieces interspersed, struck me forcibly as bearing a strong resemblance to a large town in winter. By obs. lat. 76.43 N. Cold extreme, everything fluid being frozen on the slightest exposure; even the rum, when exposed on deck, is rendered quite thick, like frozen oil. We now enjoy continual day, as the sun revolves around us without ever setting; the difference being that it is south at noon and north at midnight. Our passage to the north obstructed by packed ice. An immense flock of seals passed us on their migration northwards.

27th.—Early this morning, the ice opening, we made way to the northward, threading through the pieces with great care. Again surrounded by birds—burgomasters, mollymawks, loons, dufkies, roaches, and small party-colored birds, called Greenland parrots. From the shelter of the ice the sea is as smooth as glass, and the cold not near so intense. At noon, were by obs. in lat. 77.40 N. A large finner passed us. During the evening several unicorns, the *Monodon-Monoceros* of naturalists, came and sported around the vessel. They were apparently from 12 to 20 feet in length. Their color is a dirty white, covered with black spots. The males have one horn projecting from the upper jaw, which varies, according to the age of the animal, from a few inches to 12 feet. This horn is twisted from right to left spirally, and for hardness and capacity to receive polish is equal to the best of ivory; the horn is of no known use to the animal; it is perhaps merely an attribute of the male. We made fruitless attempts to strike one, but without success, as they were exceedingly shy.

28th.—The man in the crow's-nest gave notice of a whale coming towards the ship; two boats were instantly manned and lowered. At a short distance it stopped to breathe; the

boats were within a few yards of it, when it took the alarm and made off. As it was close to the ship, I had a capital chance of witnessing its motions; it lay half a minute or so on the surface, with the crown of its head and its back out of the water; it then blew a quantity of air and mucus, like steam, through the air-holes on the top of the head, and gradually sank three or four feet, as gradually rising again; it again breathed and sank. This was repeated several times, till, being alarmed by the approach of the boats, it suddenly ducked its head, curved its back, and, giving its huge tail a flourish in the air, made off. When we on deck saw Mr. Ashe, the first officer, push out his bow-oar, jump up, and seize his harpoon, ready to strike, we made sure of the whale; and when we saw it make off, I know that several lookers-on distinctly broke the third commandment. In the afternoon a number of unicorns sporting round the ship, but we could not succeed in striking one of them.

29th.—At 1 A. M. saw the land to the eastward, and stood towards it till 9 o'clock, when we were close in-shore. It presented a chain of high craggy mountains, covered with snow; five of them in particular were very striking and peaked, and appeared to be as high as Beerenberg on Jan Mayen. No signs of vegetation—nothing but icebergs, bare black rocks, and a background of icy mountains. We were on that part of the coast of Spitzbergen called Magdalena Bay. We did not land or make any stay, but proceeded along the coast to the N. We passed several icebergs, some of tolerable size. One we saw at Jan Mayen, 1400 feet high, did not seem much larger than some we see here. Continued to the N. Another ship in company. Saw a whale, but as it was pursued by their ships' boats, took no notice of it. Tried to get some seals lying on a piece of ice, but failed. Saw another whale; sent two boats after it; but, after an unsuccessful chase of three hours, they were signalled to return on board.

30th.—Ship plying to the N. through the ice; got a heavy blow from one of the pieces. The London ship in company with us saw and struck a whale, which they succeeded in killing in three hours, but not until it had killed one of their

men by a stroke of its tail; his body was put into a box, and placed in the mizen-top for the purpose of being taken home to his friends.

May 1st.—This morning, a few minutes after midnight, a sailor, dressed up with skins, Russo matta, an enormous wig of horse-hair and oakum, came to the ship's bows as Neptune. His wife, as Amphitrite, dressed in an equally fantastic manner, hailed the ship, ordering the sailors to back the main-yard. Then, coming on deck, they were mounted on a gun-carriage, by way of a car, and drawn along the ship's decks to the after-hatchway; they were then conducted in state to the between-decks, where, the crew being mustered, Neptune made a speech, that he, the God of the seas, was glad to see them; and as some of them, his loving subjects, had never passed the north cape of Europe (71.10 N.), he would, assisted by his wife, shave them, so that henceforth and forever they might have the privilege of navigating his dominions north of said cape. Those who had not been in Greenland before were brought out, one by one, and, being seated on a large cask, Neptune's wife daubed their faces with a vile composition of soot, tar, and oil, which was scraped off by Neptune with a razor made of a rusty iron hoop. There was no appeal; every one must submit. One or two obnoxious lads were roughly treated: being asked a question, as soon as the mouth was open to answer, the brush was thrust into it. When called up, my plea for exemption would hardly have been listened to if I had not had the key of the spirit-room, and used it forthwith. The ceremonies concluded with a dance and a double allowance of rum. Bitterly cold; ther. 40 below zero. In the afternoon two whales rose near the ship; the boats got very near them, but could not succeed in striking either of them.

2nd.—Thick foggy weather, and intensely cold. The rigging covered with a saltish rheum arising from the sea. It is deposited on the men's faces and clothes; from its excoriating effect on the skin, it is commonly called "the barber." This mist or fog does not exist far above the level of the sea, as in the crow's-nest it is quite clear. The ship laid-to all day.

5th.—Blowing hard from N., with insufferable cold, rendering a person exposed to it unable to articulate from torpidity or contraction of the muscles of the face. The ice coming down and threatening to close us in, set all sail, and stood away to the S. Passed a Polar bear on a piece of ice, but were too anxious to escape the danger which threatens us to stop and attack it. Compared to what I had seen in menageries, it seemed a large one, but was informed that it was not more than half-grown. In the evening escaped from our dangerous position in the ice, leaving two vessels beset, there to remain in great danger until the ice opens again, or the current carries them three or four degrees to the south.

6th.—Ship still making her way to the southward, among heavy ice. Again in danger of being closed in; the only passage was between two heavy masses of ice, which, under the influence of the wind or current, were approaching each other. When nearly through, the pieces came in contact with the ship, and crushed the two quarter-boats to pieces; extremely glad to get off so cheaply. At one o'clock were out of danger from being beset in the ice. During the afternoon, when walking the deck with Capt. Dannatt, I perceived two objects on the surface of the water. Looking at them attentively, I became convinced that they were two human faces, and at once gave the alarm. A general laugh, and an exclamation that they were a couple of walruses, set me to rights. We tried to harpoon them, but without success.

8th.—Wind more moderate. One ship in company with us, proceeding to N.W. Ran against a piece of ice, which started some of the planks on the starboard bow. Noon, lat. by obs. 79.58 N. Saw a whale, and sent 6 boats after it; but after a fruitless chase of two hours they were recalled. At 6 P. M. saw the vessel we had been in company with in the morning, with a signal of distress flying. It had struck upon a piece of ice and been seriously damaged; as, however, it was to windward of us, and as the ice lay very cross, we could not easily get near them, so we pursued our own course. The ship was the *Laurel*, of Burlington.

10th.—Strong gales of wind and little ice. Saw several whales, but too stormy to lower the boats. In the evening, weather more moderate; received a visit from Capt. Cook, of the *Elizabeth*, of Hull, who had just killed a unicorn, so large as to yield two butts of oil. Just before midnight sent two boats after a whale, but without success.

11th.—Fine weather, and calm. This forenoon an immense sword-fish—*Delphinus-Gladiator*—passed close to the ship. It is said to be the greatest enemy of the whale; it is very rarely seen so far north. In strength and velocity in the water, it equals, if it does not exceed, any known fish. Weather being so fine and mild, I went a-shooting, and shot a number of roaches, duffies, loons, and snow-birds. Stuffed a couple of each, and gave the rest to the men for sea-pies.

12th.—Some Dutch ships in company. This morning a whale rose in their midst: each vessel sent two or three boats to wait where they expected it to rise. I anticipated a diverting scene when it did rise, and was not disappointed. All was hurry-skurry and confusion, which frightened the fish and caused it to flourish its tail in the air and make off. Lat. by obs. 79.57 N. Went on board one of the Dutch ships. The captain, a young man, spoke some English. He had been five weeks off Jan Mayen, where he had killed three thousand seals. The masters of two of the other vessels were his brothers. On taking leave, he gave Mr. Ashe and me each a square bottle of very excellent gin.

13th.—Weather calm. Went a-shooting, and killed forty-one birds—enough for all hands for a couple of days.

14th.—Beautiful weather; the *Lord Wellington* and the *King George* in company. At 9 A. M. two whales rose; each ship sent a couple of boats; one of the fish was struck by a harpooneer of the *Lord Wellington*, who at once discovered that he had only got fast to a sucker. It was very soon killed, and found to be little larger than a unicorn. The attention of all the boats was then directed to the female, as they all knew, by experience, it would not leave its young one, but would hover about the place. For nearly four hours it ran about like a mad creature, closely pursued by the boats of the three vessels. At one o'clock it was struck by a harpooneer

of the *King George*, who, being assisted by all the boats, soon killed it. I have often heard of the maternal affection of the whale, and here saw a fine instance of it. About 11 P. M. we were visited by a very fine sea-horse; made several attempts to strike it, but failed. If shot and wounded, it would make off; if killed, it would sink like a stone. As the ice was closing in, the *Lord Wellington* and we made the best of our way out, leaving the *King George* beset.

15th.—Beautiful clear weather; the *Lord Wellington* in company. Saw two whales; each ship sent two boats after them; the harpooner of the *Lord Wellington* struck one; and as the two boats we had sent were off in pursuit of the second whale, Capt. Dannatt lowered two others and sent them to assist the *Lord Wellington*. Their whale, when struck, went perpendicularly downwards, where it remained upwards of half an hour; it then came to the surface, apparently quite exhausted; and as the boats were scattered about where it was expected to rise, it was immediately harpooned again, and it dived a second time before recovering its breath; but, being obliged to rise to breathe, two more harpoons were driven into it; and as it was from breathlessness obliged to remain to breathe, several whale-lances, some twenty feet long, were thrust into its body. It made several ineffectual struggles to get away, but was too far spent; and as some of the whale-lances had penetrated the lungs, it began to eject blood; and as eight boats were lying alongside, plying their long lances into its body, it soon expired and turned on its back. At that moment the look-out at our own mast-head called out: "A fall!—a fall!" Everything was instantly in an uproar; those who were in bed rushed on deck undrest, and tumbled into the boats, which were instantly lowered into the water and pushed off, the man in the crow's-nest pointing with his arm in the direction they were to go. As we on deck could see nothing for the ice, we were told by the look-out that one of our boats was fast to a whale, about three miles to leeward. In a few minutes he called to us on deck to say that the second boat had also struck the whale. By this time, the two boats which had been assisting the *Lord Wellington* having re-

turned, the ship made sail with all the spare boats in tow, being directed by the man at the mast-head. When near the boats which had struck the whale, the loose boats were cast off and dispersed where it was expected to rise. It did rise quite exhausted, but instantly dived again, and never came up. In the meantime the ice was coming together, and beset the boats; attempts were made to drag up the whale, but without success. The ends of the lines were then taken on board the ship, with the intention of either dragging up the whale or drawing out the harpoons. The lines, however, broke, and the whale was lost. The ship immediately took the boats on board, and rejoined the *Lord Wellington*.

16th.—Beautiful weather, and quite mild. Ship making her way to the N. through heavy ice. At noon we were by obs. in lat. 80.11 N. The two discovery-ships last year only reached nine miles further, being then stopped by the solid continent of ice.

17th.—Strong breezes of wind. A ship, called the *Spencer*, of Hull, in company with us. During the forenoon a whale rose; each vessel sent boats after it. After playing about for a considerable time, it was at last struck by one of the *Spencer's* harpooners; it was close to us when it was struck a second time, and shortly afterwards a third time. Soon afterwards a serious accident had like to have happened: one of the *Spencer's* harpooners, approaching it for the purpose of lancing it, received a blow from the whale's tail, which knocked the boat out of the water; it struck the boat a second time, so that it went to pieces and sank, through the weight of the lines, leaving the men struggling on the surface: they were, however, speedily picked up by the other boats. The harpooner was standing up, and was knocked out by the first stroke of the animal's tail. As we did not speak the *Spencer*, cannot say whether any of the men were seriously injured. In two hours afterwards the whale was killed.

18th.—Beautiful weather, but cold. Saw two whales, but could not succeed in striking either of them; we perceived

that one of them had scars on its back, about the size of harpoon-wounds.

19th.—Strong breezes of wind. A whale being seen at a distance, boats were instantly lowered: the crews were as usual in them, when, in his eagerness to get away, the boat-steerer of one of them took the fall entirely off the cleet. The immediate result was that, not being able to support the weight, the stern of the boat dropped and precipitated the men into the water. One had presence of mind to catch hold of the ship's ladder; the other four were struggling in the water astern, as the ship was going at the rate of seven knots. The ship was instantly laid-to and boats sent to their rescue: before they reached them, however, two had sunk; one came again to the surface, and was laid hold of by a boat-hook; the other was seen under water and brought up by lowering a harpoon. Both were inanimate, and it was only after a long-continued use of the ordinary means that vitality was restored. I am afraid to say how long one of them remained without evincing any signs of life. At any rate, the whale was left undisturbed.

20th.—My 19th birthday. Strong gales of wind, but, as we were among heavy ice, did not feel their effects. Saw two or three whales, and sent six boats after them. The whales were not running, but feeding and playing about. One rose near one of the boats, and the harpooneer, pulling the boat right on its back, struck it; it ran a very short distance down, when it came up again and lay on the surface, splashing and flourishing its tail and fins in the air in such a dangerous manner as to prevent any of the boats getting near enough to strike it a second time. After a while, however, it went down, and rose again close to the edge of a heavy floe of ice, where it acted the same game over again; it lay evidently watching the boats; and when any of them attempted to approach it, it turned on its side, shaking its fin in the air, with which it evidently knew that it could destroy them. Mr. Ashe, the first officer, seeing how matters stood, and knowing it would escape if not very speedily secured, got on the piece of ice at a little distance, carrying his harpoon, and,

with two of his men dragging the line, made his way until he got just over the whale, when he threw his harpoon with such force as to make it penetrate the whale's body to the stock. It instantly dived, and ran five lines out before it again came to the surface; and when it did, it was as wicked and mischievous as before. One boat at last succeeded in striking it, but, when backing astern again, received a blow of its tail. The harpooneer, seeing the impending blow, leaped back among the men; it struck the boat's bow obliquely, so as not to injure it; but the concussion threw the boat-steerer into the water. As the whale began to run, the line was at once divided by the axe, and the boat returned to pick up the steersman, who was almost frightened to death. He did not know how he had got into the water, or what had happened to him: being, however, utterly useless, the crew took him on board the ship, which was close by, and, taking another in his place, joined the hunt again. In the meanwhile, the whale was again setting the boats at defiance, and it was only after some time that two of them, rowing rapidly past it, threw their harpoons into it. It was then killed, but not until five hours had elapsed from the time it was first struck. When dead, it turned over on its back; holes were then made through its fins, which were lashed across the belly. Similar holes were made in the forks of its tail, through which ropes were reeved, and then, all the boats fastening on, the whale was towed to a neighbouring mass of ice, to which the ship was already anchored. The whale being then brought alongside, the harpooneers, with spikes on the soles of their boots, got upon it, and cut a piece about four feet wide by six feet long, leaving its base uncut. A hole was then made, through which the loop of a strong rope was passed, and fastened by a fidd. The rope was then rove through a block in the rigging, and its end taken to the windlass. This arrangement or contrivance not only keeps the carcass steady, but, as the surface is removed, enables the whale to be gradually turned and another surface exposed and removed. When this was done, which only took a few minutes, the harpooneers and steerers cut out pieces of about a ton weight, which were hoisted on deck by ropes and pullies

connected with the winches. As fast as these pieces were hoisted on deck, they were thrown down the hatchway between the decks. The lower lip of the carcass was cut up and hoisted on board; the enormous tongue, which is a mass of nearly pure fat, was sent up; the whalebone which is attached to the roof of the mouth was then removed; the fins and tail were cut off and hoisted up; and the whale gradually turned over, until it was entirely flinched. The whole time occupied was nearly three hours. The fat on the surface of the body was about ten inches thick, which is considered to be very little. The fat on the body of a full-grown female is frequently, I am told, two feet or more in thickness. I am surprised to find the fat firm, and more like gristle than the ordinary fat of animals. When boiled down, however, Mr. Ashe informs me that it yields 75 per cent. of pure oil. While the whale was being cut up we were surrounded by immense numbers of mollymawks and snow-birds, which could easily be knocked down with a stick. The sailors amused me by throwing some pieces of blubber among them, too large for any single bird to swallow; when one got hold of it, he was instantly attacked by the others, and almost torn to pieces, until he quitted it. This went on until some bird more powerful or more dexterous managed to get off with it.

After the whale was flinched, the decks were cleared and cleaned; the ship was cast off from the ice, and stood away to the N.E. One of the men, who yesterday was nearly drowned, suffers to-day from acute inflammation of the lungs.

21st.—Light airs, and beautiful mild weather. In the afternoon two whales rose close to the ship, and remained sporting on the surface in a very loving manner. The boats were instantly lowered and pulled towards them; one of the boats ran against the whale, and the harpooneer, who had just seized his harpoon, was thrown down; he, however, recovered himself in an instant, and plunged his harpoon into its back. As the whale, however, was in no hurry to go away, the man again seized his harpoon, and, throwing his whole weight on it, gave it a good shove. It then set off nearly perpendicularly downwards, and with such vel-

ocity that the harpooneer was hidden in the smoke caused by the rapidity of the lines running round the bollard, and this in spite of the water thrown upon it. A second boat was just in time to render aid before the lines were run out. The whale came up again in about an hour, nearly dead—not from fatigue or exertion, but from the enormous, almost incredible, weight of water it had sustained. It ran out seven lines, each line 140 fathoms long, and went apparently perpendicularly down; if so, it must have been subjected to a pressure of 980 fathoms of water. But, even if one or even two hundred fathoms are allowed for obliquity, still the pressure must have been almost incalculable. It lay almost motionless, until three boats pulled on its back and struck their harpoons into it: it ran another length of line out of their boats, and then stopped. It was instantly surrounded by all the boats, and in the space of forty minutes more was killed. The ship was again anchored to a piece of ice, as yesterday, and the whale brought alongside and cut up. It also was a male animal, and very lean.

24th.—Quite calm, but a dense fog. We hear whales blowing on every side, but cannot see them. Six boats, however, were sent off with strict orders not to separate. They returned unsuccessful: they heard and saw several, but could not get near enough to strike one. At noon it cleared up, and discovered us in a large basin formed by heavy ice, with numbers of whales sporting about in a very playful manner; but, being quite calm, they invariably made off whenever they heard or saw the boats. In the afternoon Capt. Dannatt got into a boat, and, posting himself on the edge of a piece of ice, resolved to wait in hopes that one would rise near him. He was not waiting more than twenty minutes till one rose about forty yards off. He pulled towards it; but, finding the boat going athwart it, he directed the men to cease pulling, and ordered the boat-steerer to scull quietly. It lay shaking on the surface of the water, as if paralyzed by a sense of its danger, until Capt. Dannatt struck his harpoon into it; it then made off, running only two lines out, when another harpoon was struck into it, and in an hour after it was first struck it was killed. It was

a male fish, but very fat. During the act of finching, a harpooner cut his foot severely.

26th.—Strong wind and clear. Ship threading her way to the northward. At 5 P. M., after an exciting chase, a whale was harpooned; it ran out five lines, and was killed in two hours and a-half.

27th.—At 7 P. M. we got to the open water in lat. N. 79.30, where we again joined the *Lord Wellington*. In escaping from the ice we left two vessels beset, who were more to leeward than we were.

28th.—A whale was seen, and three boats were sent after it, one succeeding in harpooning it; it ran six lines out, and the greater part of a second boat's lines. It remained nearly an hour before it came to the surface again, and then rose at a considerable distance, and not far from the *Lord Wellington*. Capt. Dannatt sent two boats to his brother's assistance; both struck it before it went down again, and in 25 minutes more it was killed. As usual, the ship was anchored to the ice.

Shortly after it was got on board and the decks cleared, three or four whales were seen, and boats sent after them. The harpooner who had struck the last whale got close to one of them, but, through the fault of the boat-steerer, not close enough to strike. He threw his harpoon, which did not penetrate. He, however, was fortunate enough to strike another, which remained down a considerable time. As soon as it rose, three more harpoons were driven into it; but, instead of going down again, as was expected, it set off with great rapidity towards the heavy pack of ice to windward. As the men knew that if it once gained the shelter of the close ice they would likely lose it, the loose boats attached themselves to those fast to the whale, and all stuck their oars in the water, to retard its flight; but in vain; it reached the ice, and the men were obliged to pay away their lines until it stopped, which it did in a few minutes. The men, seeing it blowing, proceeded over the ice with three harpoons; two were stuck into it and the lances freely used, when it made off again, fortunately into clear water, where it was shortly killed. The ship, as usual, was anchored to the ice; the

whale was brought alongside, and was finched. It was a male fish, and miserably lean.

29th.—Beautiful weather. Very nearly run foul of by a Dutch ship, which came so close that I could have jumped on board. It had got two small whales, and had their tails hung up in the rigging. No correspondence in language between us.

30th.—Quite calm, but thick foggy weather. Two ships with us, the Dutchman and a ship from Aberdeen. Great numbers of unicorns and seals around us, but could not take any of them.

31st.—Last night it began to blow from N.E., which drove the ice in large masses down upon us. As we saw no prospect of getting out, we looked out for and found a creek in one of the largest masses, into which the ship was taken. The sails were then stowed and the provisions got on deck, in the case of the ship being crushed to pieces. The ice continues to come down, so that no water can be seen, even from the mast-head. Prospect of getting out only by a change of wind or by being drifted to the southward. Nothing to relieve "the eye" but the bare masts of the Dutch and Aberdeen ships.

June 1st.—Wind N.E. Nothing can be more disheartening than our imprisonment.

2nd.—Early this morning the wind changed to the west. During the day the ice slackened considerably, and as it peeled off to the southward we occasionally caught sight of water. The Dutchman, being nearer the edge, soon got clear and out of sight. Some hours afterwards the ice near us began to move; a lane opened here and another there, and we set our sails ready to take advantage of any channel. We at last cast off, and threaded our way out between heavy floes, leaving the Aberdeen ship to follow, which was then a mile or two astern. Our way, when near open water, lay between two heavy floes. We got safely through, although we found the channel getting perceptibly narrower. Being then nearly if not quite safe, I went below with Capt. Dannatt; and while conversing, Mr. Ashe came down to inform us that the *Diamond*, in passing between the two

pieces, had been caught by them and crushed to pieces. We ran on deck and found it too true. One of her masts was still upright; the others, with fragments of the vessel, were being piled up among the masses of ice which were broken off by the collision of the two floes. We approached as near as we could with regard to our own safety, although we dared not send them any help. We perceived that they had three boats on the ice, and were putting sails, chests, meat, &c., into them. Some of them at last launched one of their boats over the ice, and came on board of us. The party consisted of the captain, the surgeon, the mates, and several of the men. A signal was made to the others to come off, and one boat came, loaded to the water's edge with men and some of their effects. As about twenty still remained on the ice, boats were sent to bring some of them off, and to say that if they did not instantly come on board they would be left to their fate. They did then come on board, but most of them quite drunk and shockingly profane in their language. As the ice continued in motion, and was still very unsafe, we got out of it as quickly as we could, leaving the remains of the *Diamond* and her eight whales. Capt. Small, in giving an account of the loss of his ship, said that in following our vessel he perceived that the channel between the floes was getting smaller, and lowered six boats to assist by towing. When, however, escape was seen to be impossible, the men in the boats, as well as those on board, escaped the collision by getting on the ice and out of the way. The men who were towing succeeded in dragging three of the boats on to the ice. Those on board got into the spirit-room before leaving. Some, and only a few, succeeded in saving a few of their effects.

Some Dutch ship being seen to leeward, the men who had last come on board requested to be sent to them. This request was readily granted, and two of their boats were given to them for the purpose; and after the uproar and the disputes about the division of the things saved were settled, they went off, and the others to bed again. About three o'clock we got into a flock of whales. Six boats were instantly lowered, with strict orders not to separate. Two whales were im-

mediately harpooned. In an hour and a-half one was killed and taken in tow by the ship; and soon afterwards the second was killed, and also taken in tow. The boats then struck two others, which were killed without any unusual occurrence. The ship was then, as usual, anchored to the ice, and the whales were finched.

As the difference between day and night can only be distinguished by reference to the compass, and as the occurrences and events of the last two or three days have been so varied and so exciting, they are apt to get confused. I am, however, very decidedly entering the late occurrences on this morning of the 3rd.

3rd.—On this day we spoke the *Middleton*, of Aberdeen. Her captain came on board, and after a consultation it was decided that Capt. Small and a certain number of his men should go on board the *Middleton*. This was accordingly done, and Capt. Small left us with the sympathy of all on board. In the evening, quite calm. The weather being thick and foggy, the ship was made fast to a piece of ice.

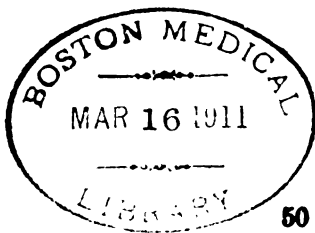
4th.—Weather still calm and foggy. Caught a shark ten feet long, and hoisted it on deck for the purpose of examining its structure.

5th.—Still perfectly calm. The *Middleton* and the Dutch ship, with the *Diamond's* men, are in company. They had struck a whale for the Dutchmen, who are very anxious to keep them.

7th.—Got a channel out, and made way to the northward at noon. We were by obs. in lat. 80.12 N., and still making to the north.

8th.—At two o'clock this morning the *Trafalgar* arrived at the solid ice, which connects with the North Pole. After sailing some hours along its edge, in an easterly course, we bore away to the southward. At noon we were by obs. in lat. 80.44 N., and by Mr. Ashe's observation in 81.01 north. In the morning, before the ship bore away to the southward, it must have been ten or twelve miles farther to the north. At 7 P. M. we made the land, and continued to approach it.

9th.—At 7 o'clock this morning we were close in with Møffen Island, on the northern extremity of Spitzbergen,



laying in 80.07 N., and coasted along during the day, with a light breeze of wind from the N.N.E.

At six o'clock P. M. we altered our course to the westward again, and at midnight got among light streams of loose and small ice, with here and there a heavy floe.

10th.—Strong breezes and clear weather. Boring our way to the westward with considerable difficulty, being often obliged to make a circuit to get round the floes or keep clear of them, so as to reach open water, the appearance of which we could see in the distance. About two o'clock we reached open water, which was formed by two very large and several smaller floes. The enclosed clear water was about a mile and a-half by a mile broad, and was literally swarming with whales, looking like droves of black cattle in a pasture. All the boats were lowered, with strict injunctions to keep together and not to strike more than three fish at one time. There was, of course, a contest, and a very sharp one—not who should strike the fish, but who should do so first; for, besides the honor and credit, the harpooner and steersman of a boat first striking a whale receive each a guinea, and the rowers seven-and-sixpence each, independently of their share in the general profits of the voyage. Of course, the four loose boats are kept clear and ready to assist. Two of the boats pulled into a creek, and immediately each struck a whale. Another boat met a whale, and, although at disadvantage, succeeded in getting fast to it. By this time, two ships, the *Harmony*, of Hull, and the *Union*, of Peterhead, seeing our flags flying, arrived as we were killing our three whales. The boats of the Hull ship struck three fish; but for want of proper and timely assistance, one of them, with the six lines, escaped. The *Union's* boats struck two; but for the want of the aid of the other boats, one of them also got off, with their harpoon and lines attached to it. By this time the three whales we had struck were killed, and the men in the boats were busy getting in and coiling their lines, excepting Mr. Ashe, whose line had got foul of the bottom of the ice. As he was positive that it was a whale he was fast to, he did not strike his jack. While disputing about it, a whale rose not far off,

and was espied by two of the boats belonging to one of the other ships, who, however, would not strike it, as they saw a harpoon sticking in its back, and Mr. Ashe's jack flying not far off. Capt. Dannatt, who witnessed the circumstance, immediately called one of our boats; but as their lines were not quite coiled in, it did not come for a few minutes, and by that time the whale had gone. Capt. Dannatt, however, who was in the crow's-nest, observed its course, and directed the boat to lie at a point which he pointed out. The boat had only lain there a few minutes when the whale rose at a short distance and was instantly struck, and, with the assistance of some of the other boats, which by that time had got in their lines, was soon killed. When brought alongside it was found to be the whale which had escaped from the *Union*, as one of that ship's harpoons, with six lines, was attached to it. By the time this last whale was killed, hardly a fish was to be seen: all had taken fright and disappeared.

11th.—At two o'clock this morning the ship was anchored to the ice as usual, and the four whales were brought alongside and flinched.

During the time the crew were employed in cutting up the whales we were visited by several sharks, and I again availed myself of the opportunity of dissecting one of them. They are most torpid and senseless animals; for, though a knife or a lance is run into them, they retreat a few yards, but directly return again. After the whales were flinched and the decks cleared and cleaned, the ship was cast off, and proceeded to look out for the passage again, but found it effectually blocked up.

12th.—Very thick and foggy; no egress, and the space in which we are confined is evidently less. At noon, saw a small whale and sent boats after it. One boat got near it, but not near enough to strike, and the harpooneer hove his harpoon at it, but did not get fast. Soon afterwards it rose again near one of the boats, and the harpooneer struck at it with such force as to bend his harpoon almost double; but, to his surprise, the man found the weapon remaining in his hand. He had struck it on the crown-bone. Soon afterwards

it was struck and killed by the boats of the *Harmony*. Ship still anchored to the ice.

13th.—Weather still thick and foggy—so much so, that objects cannot be perceived beyond the length of the ship. As the space of water in which the ship is confined gets less, we are obliged to cast off and choose another berth. During the evening the weather cleared up a little, and we found ourselves surrounded by unicorns, but could not succeed in striking one of them. The *Harmony*, however, got one by shooting it with a gun-harpoon.

14th.—Weather still thick and foggy; no egress, but the basin in which we are confined apparently gets larger. To-day, got again two sharks; neither of them had eyes. The sockets remain, but the eye-balls appear to have been taken out, as the remains of the muscles are still to be seen. The cavity of the brain is very small, hardly larger in circumference than the spinal-marrow. They are, consequently, very tenacious of life. The head of one was cut off, and retained its sensibility for a long time. A fishing-lead was put into its mouth five hours after, and it bit it through with ease.

15th.—Still thick and foggy. The ice has opened; but, on account of the fog, it was thought unsafe to cast off,—so we remain anchored to the ice.

17th.—Quite clear, and fine mild weather. Perceived some vessels coming towards us, and made off to the N.W. with the intention of leaving them and keeping by ourselves. Only one followed us. After sailing eight hours, we came to two heavy floes with a clear passage between them; we ran down, leaving the other ship, which would not follow us. After sailing along the edge of one of the floes for three or four miles, Capt. Dannatt perceived a whale blowing in a hole in the floe. Two boats were sent to the edge of the ice, and one of the harpooners was directed to proceed over the ice to the hole, and to wait there until the fish appeared again. He went with two of the men dragging the line, and found the whale still lying there. He at once plunged his harpoon into it, with such force as to overbalance himself and fall into the water. He was with difficulty extricated by the two men who had accompanied him. The whale made into

the open water, and was killed in an hour and a-half. While the boats were towing it on board, another whale rose close to them; it was instantly pursued and struck, and in thirty-five minutes was killed. It was only a small one. When the whales were brought alongside, it was perceived that the floes of ice were coming together, under the influence of a current. The whales were immediately cast-off from the ship, and six boats left to tow them; while all sails were set to beat out again. In two hours we had weathered a point, where we considered ourselves safe, and then lay-to for the boats. As it was, we had little time to spare; for if we had not seen the ice in motion when we did, or if we had been a mile more to leeward, we would have shared the fate of the *Diamond*. We watched the two enormous pieces come in contact with a horrible crushing noise, and saw the fragments piled up to a great height. *X mem. es.*

18th.—At two A. M. the boats with the two whales joined the ship, and the usual process was gone through.

At ten A. M. spoke the ship we had seen the day before, the *Mary and Elizabeth*; and as it became foggy, the master came on board and spent the day. In the evening the weather cleared up, and, as the ice appeared to be closing, we tried to get into an adjoining body of water, but were prevented by a piece of ice twice as big as our ship, which blocked up the only channel. Twelve boats were sent—six from each vessel—to attempt to tow it out of the way. In half an hour they succeeded in making a passage sufficient to allow us to pass through, which we did without damage. The *Mary and Elizabeth*, however, struck one of the sides of the passage, and, recoiling, got jammed fast; and it was only after considerable exertions that she was towed clear. Soon afterwards we saw a whale, and pursued it; but the weather becoming foggy again, the boats were recalled.

19th.—Uncommonly thick and foggy, with very little wind. Early this morning the watch on deck heard repeated calls of "A fall! a fall!" and could distinctly hear the whale-lines running out of a boat, but could see nothing. As all of our ship's boats were on board, we paid no attention to the calls. When another watch came on deck, half an hour afterwards,

the harpooneer in charge heard a whale blowing near the ship, and sent two boats after it, but too late. In a short time a boat belonging to the *Mary and Elisabeth* came on board, and told us that they had left their ship in pursuit of some unicorns, but, coming across the whale, had harpooned it, and lost it for want of assistance. As they could not find their vessel in the dense fog, they remained on board with us until it should clear up, which it did in a few hours after. During the day we heard the blast of whales, but could not see them for the fog.

20th.—This morning a polar bear appeared near us, on the edge of the ice. He was supposed not to be hungry, as he did not attack us or get into the water, and none were hardy enough to attack him on the ice. After looking at each other for some time a fog supervened, and we saw him no more. In the evening it cleared up, and we found ourselves surrounded by unicorns. Boats were lowered: one of the boats, perceiving three approaching, lay perfectly still on the water, the harpooneer ordering the men to lift their oars out of the water and to be perfectly silent. There were a male with a long horn, a female, and a young one. On nearing the boat the male perceived it, and made off. The female was following, when the harpooneer threw his harpoon, and fortunately with success. It ran two lines out, and on coming up was killed by the other boat. It was brought alongside and hoisted into the ship entire. The mouth, throat, and stomach were full of different kinds of small animals and fishes—the greater number like overgrown shrimps; some of them measured four or five inches in length. The unicorn itself was sixteen feet long, and yielded one butt of oil. At nine P. M. made sail to the northward, the current having carried us considerably to the S.W. Parted with the *Mary and Elisabeth*, who preferred remaining behind.

Early this morning, being at the masthead with one of the speksoneers, he directed my attention to two objects on the ice, at some distance. As they advanced rapidly towards us, we soon perceived them to be two polar bears—an old one and its cub. We called out to those on deck, and two boats

were manned and lowered, with Capt. D. in one of them. As soon as the bears perceived the boats they got into the water, and swam towards them with astonishing rapidity. When near the boats Capt. D. fired at the old one, but with no apparent effect. He fired again, when the bears turned and made towards the ice; they scrambled up and stood on its edge, shewing no inclination to renew the attack; the boats got closer to them, when Capt. D. fired again, and shot the dam through the head. The young one would not quit the body, but remained until a noose of a rope was thrown over it, and it was dragged into the water, as Capt. D. wished to keep it alive. It was five feet long, and stood higher than a large sheep; when brought alongside, it shewed such ferocity that it was decided to kill it. I found their stomachs perfectly empty. The white bear is very ferocious, and, I am told, very rarely turns tail, as this one did, when wounded. Innumerable stories are told of their attacking the boats. Last season, Captain Hawkins, of the *Everthorp*, of Hull, attacked a bear in the water; his gun would not go off, and he attempted to run his whale-lance through it as it advanced; the lance, however, struck on its breast-bone, and the bear, wrenching it out of his hand, got into the boat, and seizing him by the thigh, made off to the nearest ice. The men were paralyzed for a minute or two, when they followed the bear, throwing the loose articles in the boat at it; one of them hitting it on the head, it left hold of the captain and followed the boat, which, taking a turn, picked up the captain and took him on board.

Some years ago a bear was attacked by a boat, and in trying to get into the bow the harpooner cut off one of its paws with his axe; it then got into the stern of the boat, when the boat-steerer jumped overboard; it then cleared the boat, of which it held possession until it was shot, the men, in the meanwhile, hanging on in the water by the oars.

During the day we saw several whales running to the N.W., but could not get near enough to any of them to strike.

23rd.—Early this morning, while coasting along the edge of a floe, saw several whales running in the same direction

to N.W. as yesterday, and sent six boats after them. For upwards of six hours they were unsuccessful. At last a boat laying at the floe's edge perceived two whales coming towards them, and as they passed, the harpooneer threw his harpoon at one of them, and got fast. It was killed without any particular occurrence. The ship, as usual, was made fast to the edge of the floe. The whale was then brought alongside and flinched.

When finished, stood to the westward, as that was the course taken by the whales.

24th.—Still sailing to the westward. No whales seen.

25th.—Stood to the westward until we were stopped by the ice. We saw no whales, but passed several bears. Got through an opening in the ice, and bore away to the northward.

26th.—Quite calm, and warm weather. We saw two bears on the ice, and sent a couple of boats after them. We lost sight of one of them entirely; the other kept ranging about without perceiving or noticing the boats. After we had left the ship, six of the men, more foolhardy than the others, insisted on attacking it on the ice. They armed themselves with harpoons and whale-lances, and set off, leaving one man in their boat. They had proceeded 150 or 200 yards with great difficulty, on account of the depth and softness of the snow, as well as of the great inequalities of the ice, when the bear either saw or smelt them. At any rate it stopped and turned round, and looked full at them. Whether it was that they did not like its looks, or that their courage failed them, but with one consent they turned tail, and made for the boat, tumbling down every few steps; and although the bear paid no attention to them, but was making towards the other boat, they did not stop to see whether its head or tail was towards them until they were safely on board of their boat. In the meanwhile the bear was making his way to the boat in which the captain and I were waiting for him. When he got to the edge of the ice he took to the water, and swam rapidly towards us. When at a short distance, Capt. D. fired at it, and the ball went through its body. It at once turned about and got on the ice, where it rolled over and

over, and clapped snow on the wounds in its sides, growling all the while. At last it again got into the water and made towards us. I fired at it, but the gun would not go off, having got wetted with the splashing of the oars. Capt. Dannatt then ordered the boat to be rowed very rapidly past it, and at the moment of passing he thrust the whale-lance through its body; it still swam after us with astonishing rapidity, particularly when the nature of its wounds are considered. However, not being able to get near us, it stopped and tried to get the whale-lance out of its body; it failed, but gnawed the stock in pieces. The boat was again rowed quickly past it, and another lance thrust into it. It then, with great difficulty, got upon a piece of ice, and crawled to the other side, very evidently with the idea of escaping. It lay on the ice growling at us until it died. In the afternoon a breeze sprang up, and enabled us to pursue our way to the N.W.

27th.—At midnight several whales were seen, and, after many fruitless attempts, a harpooneer struck one of them; it went down, and remained about an hour, when it came up. No boat dared to approach it, as it kept one of its fins menacingly in the air. A harpooneer threw his harpoon at it, and fortunately got fast, but had his boat injured by a blow from its tail. When the whale rose again, it again struck at one of the boats with its tail. The blow fortunately fell short of the boat, but struck the oars on one side, making them fly up in the air. One of the men was hurt by the springing of his oar. In two hours more it was killed. The ship was made fast as usual, the whale brought alongside, and got on board as usual.

At 7 in the morning the decks were cleared, when two whales were seen. Six boats were sent after them. One was struck and killed in three hours; and after being got on board in the usual manner, the ship was cast-off, and beat towards the head of the floe.

28th.—At three this morning we got to the head of the floe, and saw several whales, and sent six boats in three parties. Two of the boats, while lying at the edge of the ice, perceived a flock of unicorns coming towards them. One of the harpooneers threw his harpoon at one, and

struck it; it was soon killed, and was taken to the ship. During his absence his comrade saw three whales coming towards him, and struck one, but for the want of assistance was obliged to let it go, after it had run all his lines out. About the same time a whale was harpooned by one of the other boats, and soon killed; but before the five boats had secured their lines, a barrier of pieces of ice came down and beset them. As this barrier was about a mile and a-half broad, we on board had very serious apprehensions for their safety and for the loss of the whale. The ice continued to come down till six o'clock in the evening, when it peeled off again as rapidly as it had come down; and in an hour and a-half more the boats and the whale were liberated, after an imprisonment of 15 hours. As soon as they were free, and whilst returning to the ship, they met a young whale, and very soon killed it.

30th.—Quite calm and warm, but still hazy.

July 1st.—Strong breezes. The ship still anchored to the ice. Sent the boats after two whales, but without success.

3rd.—To-day, killed a very large bear, and handed his skin to the sailors to be footed. Ship made out to sea, intending to get to the northward.

4th.—In open sea, and proceeding to the northward. In the evening, fell in with two Dutch ships, clean.

5th.—Stood into the ice again. No whales to be seen.

6th, 7th and 8th.—Thick and foggy; weather quite warm.

9th.—Made fast to a floe for the purpose of filling our fresh-water casks from the ice. As one of the boats was leaving the ship, the steersman broke his oar in pushing off, and fell into the water; as the boat had way on at the time, it went a short distance ahead; on returning, owing to the unskillfulness of the man who undertook to steer, the harpooner could not reach him, and he sank. He saw him under water, and tried to get hold of him with a boat-hook, but failed. He was a fine young man—a native of Berwick, and 22 years of age.

11th.—Being nearly full, Capt. Dannatt determined to abandon any further attempts to capture the whale, and to proceed homewards.

13th.—Were surrounded by the remains of a wrecked vessel—loose spars, companion-doors, &c.; among them was a topmast with the name "*Rover*, of Bristol"; but as no Greenland-man of that name sailed out of Bristol, or out of any British port, it was supposed to be some merchantman who had been driven out of her course and perished among the ice. Among the floating wreck was one piece very suggestive: it was a substitute for a rudder, made out of a topmast and jibboom, with spars fastened across by copper nails, long pieces of iron, ships' bolts, wooden trenails, and rope. It was attempted to be weighted down by seven fathoms of chain-cable. In the evening, got into a stream of ice, on which were immense numbers of seals, but failed to take them.

17th.—Very nearly captured a very large sea-horse, which we found asleep on a piece of ice.

19th.—Were surrounded by immense shoals of herrings, swimming close to the surface of the water, and causing it to present a very peculiar appearance. We tried all sorts of plans to take some, but failed. A number of bottlenoses—"*Balæna-Rostrata*"—accompanied them, and seemed to be more successful. In the evening a gale came on, and blew with great violence from N.E., which drove the ship at the rate of nine knots, with a close-reefed fore-top-sail.

20th.—The gale continues with less violence. In the evening a man on deck declared he saw land, and was heartily laughed at for the idea. A few hours later, however, the weather cleared up, and discovered us close in to Trinity Island, at Jan Mayen, from which we supposed ourselves to be far distant. A very few hours' continuance of the foggy weather would have reduced the *Trafalgar* to the condition of the *Rover*, of Bristol, whose remains we saw a week ago. The ship was immediately close-hauled, and stood to the eastward, giving Jan Mayen what the seamen call "a wide berth."

29th.—We got among great quantities of sea-weeds, herbage, star-fish, &c., indicating our vicinity to land. The nights now are an hour and a-half long.

30th.—Calm. Surrounded for the first time by numbers of large dark-coloured birds, called boatswains by the sailors, from two long, stiff, and sharp-pointed feathers, which form the tail, and give the resemblance to a marlin-spike. They seem to be regular pirates. They do not fish for themselves; but when they perceive any other bird with a fish, they pursue, and do not cease tormenting it until it drops the fish, which they generally secure before it drops into the water.

From this time until our arrival in Shetland, on the 7th August, the *Trafalgar* was generally in soundings, and I caught abundance of mackerel, coal-fish, cod, and ling. Our stay in Brassa Sound was merely long enough to enable the agent to pay off our Shetland-men. We then proceeded to Hull, where we arrived on the 21st of August, without any particular occurrence.

My father added to his original Journal the following notes:

This journal terminates rather abruptly on the 30th of July. The original notes were continued daily, untill the *Trafalgar's* arrival in Hull, and a few pages were added, which now might be of interest to my friends, but the original journal and notes were unfortunately wetted by the upsetting of my canoe in the surf when landing on the coast of Poyais, and was greatly destroyed by my neglect to dry it. The latter part was intirely destroyed, which will account for its abrupt termination.

In the preceding journal, I have given an account of the mode of cutting up the whale, or "flensing" it, as the operation is called by the whalers. The large pieces are cut off squarely,—hoisted on deck, and at once lowered into the between decks, forward, by means of tackles and windlasses. The crew is then mustered, and armed with hooks and long knives, the masses of blubber are seized, placed on rough low tables, and cut up into longish pieces, weighing ten or twelve pounds each; they are then transmitted into the hold of the ship, thro' a long canvas tube or funnel, the mouth of which opens into the bung hole of a cask, untill it is filled, when the bung is replaced, only to be removed in the smelting

house, in Hull. The lower or ground tier is of casks of larger size, which are filled with fresh water, and, *ad interim*, serve as ballast, for washing decks, and for ordinary purposes, where extreme pureness is not required.

This process of cutting the blubber into strips, and barrelling it, is called "making off." These operations of flensing, and making off, leave the decks and the between decks, clear and clean, and leaves the blubber to be rendered, after the ship's arrival in Hull.

In the South sea whale fisheries, the climate makes the process of rendering or reducing the blubber into oil, compulsory at once, or at least very shortly after the animal is killed. The oil, thus rendered, is then brought home in huge tanks. In the Greenland ships, excepting those in the lower tier in the hold, the casks are shipped in their staves, and are only set up on board, when, or as required.

As may be seen by the perusal of my journal, the great object of the *Trafalgar's* voyage was the killing of the whale, every thing was rendered subsidiary to that, vessels, as the *Trafalgar* did, sometimes left England a couple of weeks earlier, for the seal hunting on the shores, or on the ice, off the island of San Meyn, and the venture was sometimes extremely fortunate. The killing of seals however is very uncertain, sometimes counting by thousands, and sometimes, like the *Trafalgar*, without seeing any.

In Greenland, the hunt of a whale, or, of a polar bear had the same sameness, the object, in either case being to take and to keep the animal away from the shelter of the ice, where only he could find shelter. The whale being a warm blooded animal, consequently possesses a heart and lungs, and sustains life only by breathing the air, which, of course, it is obliged to come to the surface to do. It however possesses the faculty or the power of sustaining life without breathing, for a very much longer time than any other warm blooded animal I am acquainted with.

The female whale like all warm blooded animals, has a womb and teats, and suckles its young, of which it produces one at a birth, at any rate among the droves of whales I have seen, I never could perceive one with twins.

During the *Trafalgar's* stay in the ice, twenty one whales were killed, and were fully secured.

Four polar Bears were killed, by arrangement with Capt. Dannatt, the third bear fell to my lot, I however lost it, for after it had been seduced from the shelter of the ice to following the boat, my gun would not go off, and it was shot by Captain Dannatt. I therefore declined to take the skin, preferring the chance of getting another, and, as it turned out, I was amply compensated, for the Bear shot on the 3d of July, fell to my gun; it was a very large one, a male, its skin when dressed, measuring nine feet from nose to tail, with due stretching, the tail of the Polar Bear, however, is very short, in fact is a mere stump.

The mode of dressing the skins was a peculiar one, and I have only seen it practiced in Greenland, two long oars were fixed about breast high from the lower deck, and about three feet apart, the Bear's skin was then put into a large canvas bag, with a quantity of sawdust, and trodden down under foot, backwards and forwards, by one of the crew. This process was called footing, and it was continued for many days, untill the skin was deprived of all its moisture, and was reduced to a state resembling chamois leather. The hair was in no way injured by this process of footing.

This skin did duty as a hearth rug until my mother's death, and now is in the keeping of my sister, Mrs. Dale, apparently little the worse for the wear of sixty years.

During the *Trafalgar's* stay in the ice, twenty-one whales were killed. They were however mostly males, and in proportion to their age, and to the size of their whalebone or strainers, they yielded less thickness of blubber than females. The *Trafalgar's* voyage however was a successful one, a very profitable one to the owners, and a very pleasant and instructive one to me, and profitable to me far beyond my salary, and my interest in the whale money, as it gave me a knowledge of men and things, and gave me moreover habits of thought, of study, and of self reliance, which very materially served me in after life.

My engagement with the owners of the *Trafalgar*, comprised four guineas a month, a guinea for every whale killed,

and a guinea for every thousand of seals killed, of these however, we killed none.

As the Rum, Tea, Sugar and Tobacco were supplied duty free, it seemed to be understood that it was not worth while to return a quantity of broken stores to the custom house at the close of the voyage, these consequently were divided among Capt. Dannatt, Mr. Ashe, and me. When the great number of vessels from Hull, engaged in the whale fishery is considered, it may easily be imagined that the amount of customs dues, paid by the attendants on the docks, for their private use, was homoeopathic.—Which being interpreted means that these followers of John Wesley bribed the custom officials with part of the surplus stores for passing the balance.

The autobiography continues:

“On the termination of my Arctic voyage, I found my Father stationed at Brigg, in Lincolnshire, where I spent a month, before returning to Edinburgh to finish the prescribed Curriculum there. During this second Winter session, I one day wandered into the lecture room of Mr. Robert Liston, a private lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery, and I was so much struck by his manner and by the clear and masterly way in which he treated his subject, that although I had taken the ticket of the College Professor, I entered myself as a pupil of Mr. Liston, and I have reason to attribute a great measure of my success in my profession, to his precepts and example. Mr. Liston had a room for practical anatomy, which was superintended by Mr. Syme, his pupil and assistant. I took the ordinary ticket of admission, but, from the extravagant prices demanded for subjects, I had little prospect of being able to dissect. Fortune favoured me however, for among the very small number of students who attended the Class was a Creole gentleman; he was

very extensively got up for a dissecting room. He wore kid gloves, and being rather shy of using the scalpel, was delighted to get me to use it for him, while he took the book.

"I again attended the two courses of lectures on Anatomy and Surgery, by Dr. Barclay. I attended the lectures on Military Surgery by Dr. Thompson, and which in my opinion were not worth the fees which I had paid for them. I was the recipient of a very delicate and beautiful act of kindness, at the hands of Dr. Home, the lecturer on Materia Medica. When I called upon him to take the ticket for his course of lectures, he asked me why I had not taken it the previous winter session; I told him that intending to go to Greenland, I would have been obliged to leave Edinburgh, before the close of his course. He then entered into a lengthy conversation with me on the anatomy and the habits of the different denizens of the Arctic regions, with which he evidently was very well acquainted, and in which he seemed to be much interested. After giving me my ticket and receiving his fees, he accompanied me to the passage, where he very kindly shook hands with me, and closed the door, leaving in my hands the four guineas, which I had just paid him. I stood at the door for a minute or two, struggling with varied feelings of wounded pride and a sense of his consideration to me, a perfect stranger. The latter predominated. On the 7th day of April, 1820, I passed my examination before the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, and received my diploma. "

Student life in Edinburgh had not changed when I was a student there forty years later. The 1,500 lads, mostly poor, who annually attended the University lectures, still lived as they had done a century ago. A good room with a sleeping closet could be had in parts of the old town for \$1.25 a week, the rent including service, cooking and fuel; and two sumptuous rooms could be rented for \$2.50 on the same conditions. If you were so fortunate as to have a landlady who did not help herself out of your larder, you could live healthfully on 25 cents a day. The poorer students, especially if sons of farmers, received their oatmeal and butter from home; others either bought their own provisions or trusted their landlady to cater for them on a prescribed dietary.

Edinburgh having been for centuries a university town under the Scotch system, where the students' relations to the college begin and end with attendance at lectures, and having been, like all Scotch universities, attended by poor students, the system of board and lodging has accommodated itself to their circumstances; but it is one which might be advantageously copied in some of its features elsewhere.

Although this system does not encourage that corporate spirit and emulation in pursuits physical and intellectual, which the English collegiate system fosters, and which our own is imitating, it does strengthen that spirit of self-reliance which is, perhaps, already strong enough, without further encouragement, in the Scotch character. The Scotch

student always looks back with satisfaction to the period when he was thrown on his own resources and honor, free from the restraints of school and home, and uncontrolled by other authority than that which the common law enforces. My father, however, needed no stimulus of that kind.

Of late the tendency has been to correct the isolation of the old university system and to unite the students and graduates more and more in associate action. The S. F. C. (the Students' Representative Council), the Union, the Students' Clubs and other organizations, which had no existence in my father's or my day, must have greatly modified the life of the University. The first move in this direction was made in 1859-1860, when the students were called on to elect a Lord Rector, and a choice was made which may have had very far-reaching results.

The candidates were Lord Nairn, a Lord of Sessions, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Carlyle. The Judge of Sessions carried the votes of only the extreme Kirk party. There were not enough radical votes to elect Carlyle, and Gladstone came in at the head of the polls, though many of us felt it was an insult to our own university system to elect even to the perfunctory office of Lord Rector the Parliamentary representative of an English university and who would be too wedded and prejudiced, in favor of English ways of life and methods to be impartial. But we little dreamt of the marvelous political versatility and cosmopolitan capacity of Lord Palmerston's Chancellor of the Exchequer. We realized his intellectual versatility when he rushed up from

London, after holding the House spellbound by one of his brilliant budget orations, to describe to us, in a two hours' speech, the universities of the Middle Ages; but no one foresaw in the supposed embodiment of Englishism the future member for Midlothian, or the political idol of his dear Scotland. The decision of that rabble of Scotch boys, by first drawing Mr. Gladstone's inexhaustible sympathies toward Scotland, may have had an influence on the destinies of the Empire.

After taking his degree in Edinburgh my father proceeded to London for the purpose of graduating there also in surgery. The subterfuge by which he evaded the rules, requiring all applicants to be at least twenty-two years of age, illustrates several phases of his character: his indomitable determination to compass his purpose; the courage with which he would meet a difficulty; a slight tendency to accept and adopt the principle that the end justifies the means, and a keen enjoyment of a game of finesse. He was always willing to fight with any weapons—no one bolder in a face-to-face fight—but he could dissemble when it served his purpose. He thus tells the story of how he coolly handed the magnates of the Royal College the proofs of his own disqualification, and yet passed. One of his students long afterwards, doubting the occurrence, turned up the records, and while admitting his suspicions confirmed the fact.

"I at once proceeded to London, and attached myself to the practice in Guy's, and in St. Bartholomew's Hospitals, and to attendance on the lectures of Mr.

Abernethy, and of Sir Astley Cooper. My object was to be admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, in London. My maternal uncle, Dr. James Mellis was then, and had been for many years in the service of the Honourable East India Company. He had written to his agents, Messrs. Fairlie, Bonham and Co., in London, instructing them to pay all expenses connected with my admission as member of the College. There however was an obstacle in my age; the bye-law of the College required candidates for Membership to be at least 22 years of age, and I would only be 20 on the day after examination. No declaration was admitted, but a certificate or a copy of the baptismal register. I procured the latter from my Grandfather in Aberdeen.

"On the evening of the 19th. May, 1820, I presented myself at the College for examination. When called, I was conducted to the President, Sir David Dundas, who required my tickets and certificates; I gave them to him, along with my Diploma from Edinburgh; He looked them over, and asked for the certificate of my age; I handed to him my Grandfather's letter, enclosing the extract from the Parish register, He commenced reading the letter and asked me what it meant. I told him that the certificate of my birth was on the other page and seeing that it was a baptismal record, he stuck it on a fyle without reading it. I being of course anxious to retain it, asked him to return it to me; He replied that they were always fyled. I told him that I was about to embark for India, where I might require it, and would

not then have time to procure another; Upon this he took it off the file and returned it to me.

"I was then conducted to Sir Everard Home, and Mr. Keate, who examined me on the Anatomy of the Urinary Organs, and who seemed satisfied with my answers. The Gentleman with the gold stick, then preceeded me into the Museum, where nine, out of the fourteen candidates were mustered. We then returned into the Hall, where Sir David addressed us at some length, and after the customary oaths had been taken, we departed. The ceremonies throughout were very imposing, and much more calculated to impress the mind with the dignity of the profession, than the examination of candidates in Edinburgh.

"The following day, being my twentieth birthday, I returned to the College, where Sir E. Balfour, the Secretary, presented me with my Diploma, which constituted me a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, in London. A few days afterwards, I was elected a Member of the Royal Jennerian Society, and of the London Vaccine Institution, and received their diplomas, which I still possess."

He was now fairly launched in life, but he had to pass through two or three eventful episodes before settling down to its routine duties.

A year in India was a startling contrast to the summer in Greenland. His narrative of his India experience is again a copy from a contemporaneous journal, a portion only of whose torn and faded leaves survived the Poyais expedition.

CHAPTER III

A YEAR IN INDIA AND ANOTHER IN GOING AND RETURNING

Like so many Englishmen then and since, he had family ties attracting him to India. His uncle on his mother's side was a medical man in the East India Company's service. His brother-in-law was an Indian judge, and his brother-in-law's uncle a director of the company. With such influence to back him he looked forward to a permanent appointment in India, but meanwhile he accepted temporary employment and was attached to the artillery at Dum Dum, near Calcutta. He went out as surgeon to the free trader, "The Theodosia," owned by Mr. Gladstone, of Liverpool, the late Premier's father. The voyage out occupied six months and the return voyage the same endless time. Card playing was the principal occupation on board, and repentance because of such a woeful waste of time made him forswear that innocent amusement during the whole of his subsequent active life. They called in at Funchal, Madeira, sailed in sight of the Peak of Teneriffe and landed on rocky San Antonio, one of the Cape Verde Islands, for fresh provisions, as their

live stock had been washed overboard in the Bay of Biscay. The natives, semi-civilized blacks, treated them hospitably, rescued them from the surf when upset, and sold them dried goat's meat, as well as fruit, raised on the small patches of soil which had accumulated on the rocky ravines. On parting the doctor gave the chief his shoes and stockings and a match box. This was before the days of the lucifer. The apparatus contained matches tipped with chloride of potash and a bottle of asbestos saturated with oil of vitriol. The combination went off with greater explosive violence than a safety or a parlor match and threw the natives into raptures.

The scanty stock of vegetables and dried meat was soon exhausted, and scurvy made its appearance before reaching Ascension, where they stopped for turtle. He describes the island, which was being used as a kind of sentry box to watch St. Helena, and was in a transitory state just after its occupation, as follows:

"Bonaparte, at this time, was a prisoner on St. Helena, and all communication with the island was most rigidly interdicted. Ascension also was occupied by a party of Marines, under the command of Lieutenant Campbell, who sent a gunner on board with a request to Capt. Kidson to go on shore. I went with him. As a heavy surf breaks on the shore, a curious contrivance has been adopted, for effecting a landing; from a rocky promontory which runs outside of the surf, an iron chain is attached to a floating barrel, which is anchored about 30 feet off. A boat approaching, gets hold of the chain, and is

gradually eased in, to within a foot of the rock, when the person may step out. Steps cut out of the rock ascend to its top, where the person may walk along the promontory to the mainland. On landing we proceeded to the settlement, which is about a quarter of a mile off, and consists of several houses and sheds, which form a square.

"Ascension Island is in longitude 14° West and in latitude $75^{\circ}57'$ M. south. It is entirely of volcanic origin, the greater part of the island is lava, many of the rocks are half fused, some are burnt to a cinder, and are red and crumbling. There are three or four hills, or rather cones; I could perceive no sign of soil, or of vegetation, there was no water; in fact, the first question asked, was, could we spare them a cask or two of water. When Napoleon was exiled to St. Helena, Ascension was taken possession of, as it was thought, that if he should escape, it could only be in an open boat, and that South America being too distant, he could only make for Ascension. The square on which the houses of the Marines and of the women and children are built, has been cleared, with great labour, of the rocks with which it was covered; the houses are of wood, and are small and incommodious. We were very hospitably received. We dined and supped with the mess. We then proceeded to a white sandy beach, where we took nine turtle, weighing from five to seven hundred weight each."

On the return voyage he writes:

"After a pleasant run through the southern trade winds, we reached Ascension Island. Here I found

matters very much altered since my former visit. Napoleon had died at St. Helena, and it had been determined to continue the occupation of Ascension Island. Accordingly, some of the wooden huts were being replaced by stone barracks, for a party of marines. A very small spring of water had issued from the very highest summit of the hill, which was about three thousand feet. A space was being cleared of the igneous rocks, around the spring, and it was the intention to bring some soil from the Cape, and attempt to raise salad. Dr. Thompson, an old fellow student, was in medical charge. He had been stationed at St. Helena, at the time of Napoleon's death; and gave me an account of the postmortem appearances. He also gave me a lock of his hair, and some of the snuff, out of the magnificent gold snuff box which Buonaparte had given to Dr. Antomarchi, his medical attendant, which snuff Dr. A. had divided with the medical gentlemen! The little ground thus recovered still supplies the twenty-seven inhabitants with vegetables and fruit."

To return to the story of the outward voyage:

"Turtle was a delicious substitute for salt junk, but of all articles for a steady diet, turtle must soon become the most nauseating." And therefore, as the Journal says: "Though our cook was a good one and served up turtle three times a day in various forms, after a while we lost our extreme relish for it, and bye and bye, being completely surfeited with it, we could not bear the sight of it upon the table. The sailors' mess was supplied with turtle, and the same symptoms of disrelish began to be exhibited by the

seamen. At last a deputation came aft to petition Capt. Kidson to give orders to serve out the usual allowance of salt beef, instead of turtle. Some said that the turtle made them sick, some said that it gave them bowel complaint, and others said that it took away their strength, so that they could not do their work. Capt. Kidson listened to their complaints with a serious face, and calling the steward, ordered him to serve out to the messes their usual allowance of salt beef, and to hang up the turtle, when killed, at the ship's stern. Then, addressing the men, he said, 'Now, my good fellows, you have your junk again, and if I catch any of you meddling with my turtle, why, look out.' This went well enough for three or four days, when mutterings were again heard from the seamen,—'too bad; is it not a d—d shame, plenty of fine fat turtle on board, and won't give us a bit.' Portions of the turtle, however, occasionally and mysteriously disappeared."

They did not touch at the Cape, coasted along Ceylon, sailed in sight of the Coromandel coast and landed at Madras. Seven Indiamen, two Chinamen and some small craft constituted the entire fleet in the roadstead. There was no pier or breakwater, and landing was effected through the heavy surf in the elastic native Massoolah boats. Once on land, the boatmen handed their prey over to the palanquin owners. All of which first episode of Oriental travel leaves in the Westerner a much more picturesque impression than the clamor with which our cabmen assail a stranger. While the ship was in the roads he found the surgeon of an Indiaman willing to take

his duty, and he spent the interval with a missionary friend of his father, a Mr. Lynch, at Royah Pettah. The mission seems not to have made adequate return for the labor expended on it, and the lack of Christian school teachers obliged the society in those early days to avail itself of heathen teachers, for the journal narrates that: "At Royah Pettah the missionaries have a school for native children, under the instruction of a Brahmin teacher; they are taught reading and writing, on sand, and strips of the olla leaf, on which latter their manuscripts are written, or rather scratched. The mission school, as well as the mission itself, is not in a thriving condition, although both have been in existence about seven years. There are twelve converts, the most of whom are employed about the establishment."

His intimate relationship with prominent officials enabled him to see a little more of native society than most travelers can possibly enjoy, but his account of what he saw indoors and out of doors is of less interest than his recollections of Carey and the effort of the early missionaries to induce the Government to interfere in the interests of humanity against certain Hindoo customs:

"During my stay in India I was fortunate in making the acquaintance of the Rev. Dr. Carey, the Baptist missionary, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Dale (my brother-in-law). Dr. Carey and two colleagues, Messrs. Marshman and Ward, had come out to India about twenty years before for the purpose of evangelizing the heathen. The East India Company, having supreme power, refused to give

them permission to remain, and ordered them to return by a vessel about to sail. Dr. Carey and his colleagues took refuge under the Danish flag, at Serampore, a small station about fifteen miles from Calcutta, where they still reside. Dr. Carey suffered great persecution at the hands of intolerant officials for many years. He, as well as his colleagues, were treated as low, meddling and ignorant fanatics, who had come out to disturb the religious feelings of the natives. The idea of being tolerated, or even acknowledged by Government officials was preposterous. Mr. Marshman had served his time in England as a printer, and Mr. Ward as a weaver. Dr. Carey, who, when I became acquainted with him, stood high in public estimation as a gentleman and a profound oriental scholar, had been, a while before, invited to dine with Lord Hastings, the Governor General. While in the ante-room, an officer of high rank, enquired of an aide-de-camp 'Was not that fellow a shoemaker?' Dr. Carey, who overheard the question, stepped forward and answered, 'Oh, no Sir, I was only a cobbler.'

"I was perfectly delighted with the little intercourse I had with Dr. Carey, and with the wonderful faculty which he possessed of conveying information. At that time (1821) the subject of Sutteeism, or the burning of widows alive, had been pressed very strongly on the Government by Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman, who had collected copious statistics on the subject. They stated that during six months in 1804, when their attention was first directed to the horrid rite, more than three hundred widows had

been burnt alive, in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta alone. The Government, however, paid no attention to this appeal, Sutteeism, as well as all their other religious rites and ceremonies, having been secured to them by the Government.

"Some years afterwards it was brought prominently before the Government and the public. To understand the circumstances of the case, I may state the usual ceremonies at a Suttee. The widow, having declared her intention to be burnt, a platform is erected on four green bamboo poles about ten or twelve feet long; on this platform or stage the dead husband is laid on his left side; the widow is then placed at his side, with her right arm under his head, and with his right arm and his right leg over her, the twain are then secured by bamboos lashed across them. The large space under the pile is then filled with branches and dry wood, plentifully smeared with native butter called 'Ghee,' or with oil. The widow's son or the nearest of kin, then sets fire to the combustibles amid the beating of tom toms and the most discordant music, and shouts from the crowd. This was the ordinary programme of a Suttee, of which I witnessed many on my way from Dum Dum to the city, and on one occasion I witnessed two being carried on at the same time, at some considerable distance from each other. These Suttees are always performed on the side of the river opposite to the road from Dum Dum to Calcutta, and I never was induced to cross the river for a nearer view.

“However, as I have stated, the practice had been brought before the Government, as follows: On one occasion, the widow had extricated herself from the pile, and had run off. The friends had caught her, placed her again on the pile, and burnt her. Mr. Carey laid an information against them; nothing, however, was done to them, but the Governor General in Council issued an order that no Suttee should take place except under a permit granted by a Commissioner appointed for the purpose, and this permit was only obtained on the affidavits of her relatives that it was the widow’s own desire, and that no undue means had been used to influence her. This was supposed to be an effectual mode of at least diminishing the numbers of Suttees; on the contrary, it increased them. The priests flourished the permit in the faces of the people, saying, ‘See here, the Government recognizes the rite, it has given a token (Hookum) for its performance.’ Under these circumstances a strong appeal was again made to Lord Hastings, after my departure from India, and it was proved to him, that since the first appeal in 1804, seventy thousand widows had been burnt alive in India. These statements may, at this day, appear incredible, but they are matters of fact, and of record, and facts are stubborn things. It is also a fact, that shortly after the abolition of Sutteeism, a large body of the Priests and others waited upon the Governor, to thank him for his action in doing away with so abhorrent a rite. His Lordship replied, by congratulating them on the change in the minds of the priesthood, and on the spread of more liberal

and enlightened ideas among the people; he reminded them that only twenty years before Lord Wellesly had desired to abolish Sutteeism, but had been strongly opposed by their predecessors, who had insisted that it was a sacred rite, which had been observed from the beginning of the world, and that, moreover, its observance had been secured to them, along with that of their other religious rites and ceremonies. This was the end of at least the public practice of burning widows alive. It was, and is still, the custom among the natives of the upper country to throw the bodies of their dead into the sacred river, where, after a few hours, decomposition takes place, they float on the surface and are brought down past Calcutta, by the current; the head and feet being under water, and the trunk exposed, generally with two or more carrion crows seated upon it. Frequently, the bodies are washed ashore, when they are immediately attacked by the vultures and adjutants. The vultures seem to attack the muscular parts and the adjutants seem to prefer the viscera. It was curious and interesting to observe the habits and motions of these obscene birds. On opening the abdomen, which he did very adroitly, the adjutant would seize hold of the end of the intestine, and then half skipping and half flying along the ground, would turn round and gobble up the intestine, as he returned to the body. As the ships lay off the different Ghants, the bodies frequently got across the cables, or the vessel's bows, a dingie-wallah was stationed at each Ghant,

whose sole duty it was to clear the bodies and pass them on."

So much for 1821! The Government surely deserves some credit for the change which has taken place since then.

In order to secure a permanent appointment in the company's service, he returned to England in 1823 as surgeon of the East Indiaman "Competitor." He ends his Journal by a short account of his return voyage:

"It having been decided some years before, that I should receive an appointment as surgeon in the Company's service, and as this appointment could only be given by the Court of Directors, it was necessary that I should return home for the purpose of receiving it. I certainly could have received employment in India, under what was termed a Free Mariner's Indenture, but as this would not insure promotion or rank, I was advised not to accept it, but to return to England for the appointment from the Directors. As the ship 'Competitor' had lost her surgeon, I was offered a very handsome sum to do the medical duties on the passage to London.

"After leaving Calcutta, the vessel remained some days at Sangor Island at the mouth of the Ganges, for the purpose of taking in stores, and filling up the full complement of the crew; this was effected by the Government schooner bringing down some deserters, and several seamen who had been left in hospital, from different ships. This, in my opinion was unwise, as the cholera was then prevailing in Calcutta; without going into the question of the mode of trans-

mission of cholera, I have merely to state, that on the tenth day after the ship left the anchorage at Saugor Island, the Asiatic cholera broke out on board, and during the ensuing ten days there were several cases, of whom two died. During my connection with the Hospital at Dum Dum, I saw several cases, and was told by my uncle Dr. Mellis, that it was a specific disease of the country, and that its intensity varied at different times and seasons. Among the medical men of the Presidency, there were different opinions, as well as to its nature, as to its treatment. I followed the treatment adopted at the Hospital at Dum Dum. After a somewhat tedious, but extremely pleasant passage, we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; and as the ship 'Competitor' had to discharge and to take in cargoes, our stay in Table Bay was protracted to nearly a month. During this period, I enjoyed myself exceedingly in visits and excursions to places of interest in the neighbourhood, and in social intercourse with the Missionaries, and with their families, and with some Dutch families, with whom I had become acquainted.

"The Cape and its dependencies had been taken from the Dutch about eighteen years before; the Caucasian inhabitants in the Colony were almost exclusively Dutch, and they formed the great majority of those in Cape Town. The English were comparatively few in number, and consisted principally of Government officials and of a very few merchants. The Missionary field was occupied by Mr. Moffat (father-in-law of Dr. Livingston) and by Mr. Hodgson, the former representing the London Missionary

Society, and the latter the Wesleyan Methodists. To Mr. Hodson in particular, I was greatly indebted for much valuable information and guidance in my excursions from Cape Town into the country.

"I did not find the Dutch Boers, whom I met in my rambles very amiable or communicative, they had evidently not become accustomed to Englishmen, or to English rule and occupation, which then had only existed in the Colony about sixteen years. Those within reach of my excursions seemed to devote themselves principally to the cultivation of the grape-vine.

"After a pleasant run through the Southern trade winds, we reached Ascension Island."

I have quoted already his account of change which in the interval had been wrought on the island.

"After taking some turtle, we continued our passage to London, where we arrived without stoppage, and without any occurrence on board, worth mentioning. I parted from the ship's officers and the passengers with regret."

He did not take service under the East India Company, as will be told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

IN MEDICAL CHARGE OF THE POYAIS SETTLEMENT ON THE COAST OF HONDURAS

His next professional engagement determined the drift of his future life. It carried him to the Western Hemisphere, though far from the scene of his ultimate professional career. He was tempted by salary and love of adventure to join one of the many colonization projects, which were organized by promoters who took advantage, in furthering their schemes, of the enthusiasm excited by the struggle between her American colonies and Spain. Many Britons beside Lord Cochrane were enlisted in the ranks of the revolutionists. One of the lesser notables was a Scotchman called The MacGregor, who claimed to be the chief of the clan Alpin, or Gregor, to be descended from the ancient kings of Scotland and entitled to prefix Sir to his name.

Sir Gregor McGregor was the grandson of the McGregor who was brought from Scotland in the reign of George II. as a sample of a real Highlander who could handle the claymore. He and his son received commissions in the British Army.

The grandson was an adventurer, but not in the worst sense of the word. He went to Carácas in 1811 and married a native, a niece of Bolívar, but what property he or she had was wrecked in the earthquake of 1812. When the first revolution broke out in 1812 he joined the revolutionists and was attached to the staff of General Miranda as colonel and adjutant general. He subsequently distinguished himself as a cavalry officer and became a general of brigade.

The anonymous South American who wrote the *Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America* says of Sir Gregor McGregor that "He was a Scotchman who served in the British Army in Portugal and had been promoted to the rank of captain. In consequence of some misunderstanding with a superior officer he quitted the British Army and went to Carácas in 1811. After the earthquake he served in the army of Venezuela, which in the engagement of Los Guayos suffered considerably under his command. After Miranda's capitulation Sir Gregor went to Carthagená, and from that time he has uniformly supported the independent cause.

"The victorious royalists pursued him furiously after the defeat of Bolívar, and such was their dependence on continued success that they even sent official information to Carácas that McGregor was totally defeated, killed, and the soldier was named who had spoiled him of his uniform in the field of battle."

According to the sketch of his life in the *National Biography*, he showed military skill in the retreat

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from Ocumare to Barcelona and in the battle of Juncal and other engagements. In 1817 he was promoted to the command of a division and received the Order of the Libertadoris.

His next adventure was a filibustering expedition against East Florida. He seized the Island of Amelia, but gained neither wealth nor glory.

In an interesting book entitled, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship "Two Friends;"* is told the story, by one of the members of the Amelia Expedition. He had joined a filibustering expedition in aid of Venezuelan independence, but abandoned it at St. Thomas to engage in the more promising venture by McGregor against Amelia Island. At the time the Island belonged nominally to Spain, as a part of East Florida. These filibustering expeditions were not always looked upon very unfavorably by the United States Government, provided they were not organized with any unfriendly motive. The author says (pages 85-97):

"McGregor, disgusted with the system pursued by General Bolivar (whose niece he had married), foreseeing from the disunion of the insurgent chiefs of Venezuela, and the little confidence they inspired in the respectable and enlightened class of society in that division of Spanish America, the present ruin of the popular cause, and the remote possibility of its recovery, quitted the patriot service on the main, and directed his attention to the United States, with whose views upon the Spanish provinces of the Floridas, he was well acquainted; and assured by their emissaries that a descent upon them from the union would not be opposed by the executive of that government.

"Having collected several adventurers to his standard in the northern states, and raised some funds for his enterprise,

he proceeded to Charleston; here numbers of respectable young men, who had imbibed a military spirit during the war with Great Britain, and were thrown out of employment by its termination, readily tendered their aid and assistance; but the impolitic expression of his feelings in favour of negro emancipation, deemed a species of political heresy in the slave states, joined to his arbitrary and unconciliating conduct, soon detached them from his cause, and obliged McGregor to seek for succour and assistance in the more enterprising and less scrupulous community of Savannah.

"The mercantile establishment of C. and Co., of that city, relying upon the successful issue of McGregor's expedition, purchased of his anticipated conquest over the Province of East Florida, 30,000 acres of land, at one dollar per acre, and induced several of their friends to contribute to his support.

"With these supplies, and the remnant of his associates, in all about 150, McGregor concentrated at the entrance of the river Altamaha, in Georgia, on which stands the flourishing settlement of Darien. Much time was consumed in the equipment of his forces, and numerous defections led to the further diminution of his partisans. . . .

"The expedition being at length in a sufficient state of forwardness to undertake its object, a partner in the house of C. and Co. already the holder of some landed property in Amelia, with the view of anticipating events, preceded them to that island, and by representing to the inhabitants a magnified and fabulous account of McGregor's forces, who he described as 1000 strong, and every way equipped to secure their objects, prepared their minds to forego its defence, and to lessen the confidence of the Spanish commandant in the means of resistance.

"On the 9th of July, the little band of McGregor, attended by two schooners and a few row boats, passing the shores of Cumberland island, at the entrance of the river St. Mary's anchored in the Spanish waters of Amelia, disembarking in all about sixty muskets, under the very guns of the fort of Fernandina, and two block houses intended as a defence for the rear of the town. McGregor, assisted by Colonel Posen,

of the United States Army, as second in command, led his little band over a swamp, which divided the point of debarkation from the town, plunged up to their knees in mud, exposed to the means possessed by the Spaniards of totally annihilating them. To the cowardice of the Spanish commandant, and not to the talents of McGregor, must be attributed their success; for in this, the latter displayed an excess of folly in exposing his troops to the possible hostility of the garrison, which did not, as it happened, offer a single coup de canon of resistance from the fort, and only one gun was fired from the block house, and that without the orders of the commandant.

"Possession of the fort and town being thus easily obtained, the prisoners were immediately sent to the main land.

"McGregor feeling himself firmly seated in his conquest, and acquiring daily some addition to his forces, began to arrange the system upon which its extension over the whole of the Floridas was to be founded; invited the insurgent privateers to make the Island of Amelia the depot of their prizes, and the vent of their cargoes. This acquisition of a port upon the Atlantic, and so near to the United States, was an object of the last importance to those swarms of Buccaneers who infest that ocean, and the islands of the West Indies, under the various flags of the republics of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Venezuela, and others; who thereby avoided the danger and delay attending the carrying of their captures through the Gulf of Mexico to the Spanish Main, or to Galveston at the entrance of the river Trinity, where Lafite and his piratical gang had established a similar depot. Upon the cargoes of these prizes, the government of Amelia levied an impost of sixteen and a half per cent, upon the gross amount of sales, together with charges of admiralty courts, etc., for the current expenses of the establishment, and for the purpose of replenishing their military chest, already too much exhausted to warrant a further progress in their meditated conquest of the provinces; the important prelude to which was the reduction of the fortress of St. Augustine, the seat of the government of East Florida, de-

fended by a brave and tried soldier, Colonel Coppinger, whose loyalty to his sovereign was unquestionable. This subject occupied their attention, claiming the utmost consideration.

"The fiscal system of the occupiers of Amelia still lingered in poverty, and their resources, both in men and money, were as yet unequal to any enterprise beyond the walls of their garrison; various were the means suggested, and as often found fruitless in their attempts, to raise the consequence of their establishment, and the importance of their contemplated acquisitions. The people of the United States, shrewd though speculative, seeing no immediate prospect of gain, and doubtful of the capacity of those at Amelia to obtain any serious and valuable results to their enterprise, withheld the promised assistance, and denied even to furnish them with the funds already raised for their necessities.

"In the midst of this desolation, threatened with bankruptcy in their finances, and destruction to their plans, Colonel Irvin, formerly an officer in the American Militia, and a member of Congress for the State of Vermont, who had been appointed Adjutant-General, succeeding the retirement of Colonel Posen, was created chief of the Amelian treasury, and in that character issued notes negotiable upon the faith of the government. This experiment for a time supported their tottering credit, though it did not meet the ensuing difficulties.

"Their financial embarrassments however began to throw discredit upon McGregor's party, and the people of the neighboring state of Georgia, who supplied the garrison with provisions, etc., grew impatient under the factitious mode of payment, and at length positively refused to furnish rations unless paid for in specie. Private loans were then resorted to, and every expedient, however destructive, seized upon to support their tottering credit.

"The Spanish governor of St. Augustine, apprised of every movement of the Buccaneers, waited with impatience a naval co-operation which had been promised from Havanna, for the purpose of destroying these intruders; but the characteristic delay of Spanish operations, for a long time baffled his hopes and lessened his confidence in their aid. This gentleman, the

son of an Irishman, inheriting the gallantry of his paternal ancestry, who had rendered himself, while a subaltern, conspicuous in the Peninsula, tired at length by unavailing remonstrances to the Captain General Cienfugas, and feeling ashamed that McGregor's trifling force should so long profane the province under his command, ordered the small detachment of black troops in garrison, and the militia of the province, to advance against Amelia Island, supported by a few boats with light artillery, through the narrow channels which separate the islands of Talbot, Nassau and Amelia from the main land. The whole consisting of about three hundred, including one hundred and fifty of the militia. This force, ample for its object, was confided to the command of an officer of the garrison who held the rank of major in the royal regiment of Cuba. . . . These forces advanced apparently unobserved to within the range of the guns of the fort of Fernandina, and were screened by an elevation called McClure's hill. It had been preconcerted between the naval and military commanders of the expedition that a rocket from the former should direct their mutual advance, and the troops were anxiously waiting for the signal, when the guns of Amelia, and those of the Morgiana Buenos Ayres gun brig, and other privateers, opened their fire upon the boats, and threw their shot over the hill among the troops; two of whom were killed and several wounded. The commander, panic struck at this unexpected salutation, instead of advancing under cover of the night, and through the obscurity of the woods in the rear of the town, where the insurgents had made no preparation for resistance, and where he would have been out of the range of the fire from the ships, immediately sounded a retreat, in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of the officers about him, who were maddened by his pusillanimity, and who relied with confidence upon the courage and devotion of the troops. . . .

"The situation of McGregor's government had become extremely critical, and the want of unanimity among the parties threatened with political suicide this ill-arranged oligarchy, when the arrival of Commodore Aury, under the united flags of the republics of Mexico and Venezuela, in

the brig 'Mexico-libre,' accompanied by several prizes, gave a new character to the occupiers of Amelia Island. This adventurer had for some time committed depredations upon the Spanish trade in the Gulph of Mexico, and when unable to meet with prizes of that nation, felt no repugnance at levying contributions upon those of other flags; hearing of the settlement of McGregor at Amelia, and aware of the superiority of the situation as a naval depot, entered with his prizes the harbour of Fernandina, amounting to the value of sixty thousand dollars. This arrival resuscitated the torpid faculties of the intruders, and animated their exhausted credit.

"McGregor sick of the scenes, and fatigued by the vacillating character of those around him, determined to withdraw from his conquest, proposed an arrangement for that purpose with Aury, who undertook to pay off the debts of the Amellan treasury, amounting to near fifty thousand dollars. A Mr. Hubbard, formerly sheriff of New York, an American citizen, had divided with McGregor the empire of Amelia, holding the office of civil governor, while the latter possessed the supreme military command. This latter capacity was in consequence of the arrangement, assigned to Commodore Aury, who was recognized by the authorities of the Island, and landed his followers, the refuse of all nations, and all colours, collected from the mass of iniquity spread over the islands of the West Indies and the Spanish Americas.

"McGregor, upon the completion of his agreement with Aury, retired to the Bahamas, and many of his followers (the most respectable) abandoned the cause of the Insurgents." . . .

The incident is illustrative of the curious laxity of morals which results from revolutions, and of the irresponsible character of McGregor.

It was not to be wondered at that the United States annexed before the close of 1817 this nest of smugglers and pirates, nor that Aury and his valiant followers replied to the summons to surrender with many words and few shots. Sir Gregor McGregor gave justifica-

tion for the act of absorption (if such justification was necessary) by the avowal in his proclamation that his ultimate project was to conquer the two Floridas.

Sir Gregor's next venture was an expedition against Porto Bello with the double object of seizing the town in the interest of the revolutionists and capturing a Spanish treasure ship. His partners enlisted a crew of ruffians in England, eluded the authorities there and in Jamaica, was joined by McGregor in the Spanish Main, took Porto Bello, just missed the *galleon*, but found enough liquor in the town to get so drunk that the defeated royalists dispatched most of them. McGregor himself escaped through the window of his quarters to the harbor and swam aboard his ship. He was wrecked off Cape Gracias à Dios, on the coast of Honduras, and, like the enterprising genius that he was, ingratiated himself with a native chief, whom the British had dubbed King of the Mosquito Nation, and obtained from him a grant of some 50,000,000 acres, or 76,000 square miles, to which the King had no real title. He agreed to colonize it, and he assumed the title of Cazique of Poyais.

Before going to England with his scheme he claimed to have inaugurated a settlement, opened a bank and organized an army, in which a certain Thomas Strangeway, K. G. C., was captain of the native Poyais regiment, as well as aide de camp to His Highness McGregor. The said Strangeway became his advertising agent and wrote a *Sketch of the Mosquito Shore*, published by Blackwood, 1822, as a bait to lure the public into the net which was

being cast for them. The book was a compilation of the most glowing descriptions of the agricultural possibilities of the West Indies, transferred, without acknowledgment, to the swamp lands of the Honduras coast.

McGregor left Honduras in 1821 to transplant an English colony to the Mosquito shore. But before leaving Honduras he issued a proclamation, dated Rio Leco, April 13, 1821, stating that he was sailing for Europe "for the purpose of securing religious and moral instructors, the implements of husbandry, and persons to assist in the cultivation of the soil." He very particularly asserts that "no person but the honest and industrious shall find an asylum in the Territory."

Among the books intended to draw attention to the scheme was a publication by Blackwood in the same year of an old manuscript by Col. Robert Hodgson, written in 1757. It seems that the colonel took possession of the Mosquito shore in the middle of the eighteenth century, as superintendent and agent of the Governor of Jamaica, of which colony it was, a dependency. He formed settlements on the north bank of the Black River and in Bluefields. He does not give the number of original settlers, but admits that they diminished instead of increasing—"were mostly traders with their dependents and lived scattered." He says there were on the coast 133 white men, 16 white women and 5 children, 170 mulattoes and mestizos, 92 Indian and negro slaves.

The colonel was succeeded by his son. It was claimed that as the Mosquito Indians had never sub-

mitted to Spain their country was unoccupied territory. Nevertheless it was recognized as Spanish territory by the treaty of 1783 and was vacated by the British in 1786. The treaty, however, recognized the right of England to cut logs between the River Waller, or Balize, and the Rio Hondo, and from the sea to the New River Lake, "without derogating from his Catholic Majesty's right of sovereignty." The limits for log cutting were extended in 1786, but without waiver of any rights of sovereignty by Spain. The Poyais country was included in this strip.

The British interest in Honduras in the eighteenth century was created by the growing preference for mahogany over walnut in the manufacture of furniture, which sprung up after 1715 and was stimulated by the reduction in duties by Walpole, who used it in the decoration of his palace at Houghton. And the white population of the first settlements in Poyais evidently consisted not of agriculturists, but of settlers who traded in the wants and vices of the mahogany and logwood cutters. (Haldam Macfall in the *Connoisseur*, 1809, page 190a.) But McGregor's expedition aimed at really subsisting on agriculture.

It was the Duke of Albemarle, when Governor of Jamaica, who went through the farce of investing one of the Indians with a commission as King of the Mosquitos, under the protection of England, by a ceremony which was continued long afterwards by his successor, as told in my father's Journal.

Strangeway's book and statement and the Poyais scheme did not go unchallenged. The *Quarterly Review* of October, 1822, administered a scathing castigation to the impudent author with his fictitious titles, calling the financial end of it "loan jobbery" and the land selling "land jobbery," and holding up the whole project to derision. The *Review* exposed the palpable confusion which the project offered of "interest with principal and prices with commodities." Strangeway, under the pseudonym of Veras, answered in a pamphlet, admitting the shallowness of the McGregor title, explaining that McGregor was negotiating with the Spanish Government to secure its confirmation, and arguing that the strip of territory, with its access through the San Juan River to the Lake of Nicaragua, was of such prospective value to Great Britain as a canal route that the Government should seriously consider its acquisition. This was true, but not to the point!

Sir Gregor succeeded in raising money in England on his shadowy land titles and his false statements. One of his dupes was my father, though he would not charge McGregor with fraud, but was inclined to attribute the terrible failure of the scheme to the mismanagement of the company.

What happened when the unfortunate colonists were dumped on the swamp lands at the mouth of the Black River is better told by him than by any of the survivors, and is a fragment of history worth preserving.

How the unfortunates were rescued and cared for in Balize we learn from an official investigation or-

dered by Earl Bathurst in 1824. It resulted from a petition made to the Secretary of State by W. J. Richardson and five other merchant sufferers, who claimed that Marshall Bennett and other magistrates at Balize, with the connivance of the superintendent at Balize, had removed £30,000 of goods and stores from Poyais in the previous year in the schooner "The Mexican Eagle," and had by force and persuasion carried off settlers whom they (the petitioners) had at great expense conveyed thither. The complaint was accompanied by a pamphlet, *The Balize Merchants Unmasked*, by a certain G. A. Low, one of McGregor's agents.

The resulting *Proceedings of an Enquiry and Investigation by Major General Codd, His Majesty's Superintendent and Commander-in-Chief of Balize, Honduras, Relative to Poyais*, is an interesting document.

The first witness heard was Marshall Bennett. He seems to have been chief justice also of the Balize settlement. He testified that in April, 1823, he was sent to the Black River with the King's annual present and to gather information as to the settlement. He found disorganization and sickness and the settlers anxious that he should remove them. Having no authority, he refused. But Lieutenant-Governor Hall, arriving on May 6th, gave him the requisite authority, and he received on board sixty-six individuals, all but three sick with fever. In Balize he got permission from His Majesty's superintendent to remove the other settlers, and his schooner, "The Mexican Eagle," was chartered for

the purpose. It made several trips in rescuing them and removing the stores. These were accommodated in Bennett's warehouse. Some were used to feed the settlers while in Balize and some to supply provisions to the few who were shipped back to England; and as the stores were rapidly spoiling the balance was sold by public auction and brought £943.18.9.

Thomas Pickstock testified as to the arrival of the colonists in Balize in a deplorable condition, and that a committee of citizens was appointed to "superintend and regulate the charity of public and private funds for the relief of the unfortunate people." The committee consisted, among others, of Dr. Johnson, assistant staff surgeon, and Lieutenant Brown Williams, of the Royal Artillery. They hired the following assistance:

"One nurse at 6s 3d and another at 5s, one steward at 10s and five assistants at 3s 4d per day; a cook at 3s 4d and a washerwoman at 10s a week."

The hospital was too small to accommodate the sick, so the women and children were removed to a large chapel and the remainder quartered on the inhabitants.

On August 1st forty-nine orphans and widows were shipped back to England.

The witness said that the Balize authorities recognized the difference between the colonists who had come out as servants of the company and those who had come out as independent settlers. They hesitated to assist the former class in leaving the Black River.

Colonel Hall testifies: "In addition to other distressing embarrassments Dr. Douglas, the surgeon of the settlement, was severely attacked by fever." He says: "Dr. Douglas declared his intention of proceeding with Mr. Bennett next morning to Balize unless he received his arrears of pay. His stock of medicines he stated was nearly expended. After a short interview with him he however consented to stay a short time longer." Soon after he received a written communication from Dr. Douglas, which he produced:

"To Col. Hall:

"The alarming sickness which prevails to such an extent among the settlers recently landed from England requires their immediate removal.

"I feel myself called on to state my opinion that should such removal be delayed, the most fatal consequences are to be apprehended. The want of shelter, of fresh provisions, of good water, of clothing and the privations we suffer from many other causes, preclude any reasonable hope of improvement during our residence here, and under such disadvantages the approaching wet season may be expected to complete our destruction. I myself from severe indisposition am at present able to render little or no assistance to the sick; the stock of medicines brought from England is now nearly expended without any prospect of obtaining another supply. Under these circumstances I trust you will see the necessity of facilitating our immediate removal.

"I am, etc.,

"JAMES DOUGLAS, *Surgeon.*"

These conditions, "the revocation of the Poyaisian grant by the King's proclamation, the disorderly conduct of the greatest part of the settlers," led to their removal.

The proclamation of the Poyais King addressed to Colonel Hall by his secretary, Vanhes, states that "in consequence of General McGregor not fulfilling his engagement with His Majesty, His Majesty does consider General Sir Gregor McGregor sending any person to this territory to be null and void; but that the persons settling there at present have His Majesty's sanction, as long as they behave as persons settling for the benefit of trade, and that they have no objection to taking the oath of allegiance to His Majesty and to conform to the laws of the kingdom."

Hall, in a letter to Major of Brigade Henderson, states that the number of settlers was about 200.

The proclamation and this native specimen of diplomatic correspondence are worth reproducing:

"I, George Frederic Augustin the Second, by the Grace of God King of the Mosquito Nation, do hereby decree the grant of land given to Sir Gregor McGregor null and void, he not having fulfilled his contract with me agreeable to his stipulation, and having contracted a debt on part of my territory without my consent, assuming to himself the title of Cazique of Poyais, declaring the aforesaid grant to be an independent State.

"Therefore be it known to all these persons purchasing lands that the aforesaid lands shall be their lawful property after being signed by me; that all persons holding grants of land will make their claims

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by the first of January, 1824, as they will be forfeited after that date, and all grants of land sold by Sir Gregor McGregor since the first of January, 1823, are declared null and void.

"Given under my hand at Cape Gracios a Dios the 28th day of March in the year of our Lord 1823.

"GEORGE FREDERIC AUGUSTIN,

"King of the Mosquito Nation."

"Col. Hall, Present

"I, George Frederic Augustin the 2nd, do write to decline all further concerns with Sir Gregor McGregor or any of his representatives respecting the Poyais Government, as the Mosquito Nation knows no such government, as he, Sir Gregor McGregor, has not fulfilled his stipulations with me, and any application concerning the settlers and merchants must be made to the Poyais Government or to the Grand Cazique."

"To Col. Hall:

"Should Col. Hall wish to have an interview with me respecting any private business of his own, I am ready to grant it."

"Sir:

"I commit this letter, that you will receive from bearer to your charge, which you will have the goodness to open in presence of all the settlers at Black River, when you arrive there.

"GEORGE FREDERIC AUGUSTIN, etc., etc.

"Cape Gracios a Dios, April 5th."

The letter to be read the settlers is as follows:

"George Frederic Augustin the 2nd, etc.

"My will and pleasure is—I have guaranteed to you possession of all the lands you may have purchased at Black River within my kingdom from Gregor McGregor that you may enjoy the same property unmolested you have purchased from him after the deeds being countersigned by me and properly taking the oath of allegiance, which must be done by the 1st of January, 1824.

"Those who have not purchased land may have it for 25 cents per acre, payable in 5 years in money, goods or service; but the laws must be obeyed and customs for any deviation from the same will end in their total alienation from the English (to whom otherwise they will be respected) with the risk of your property and probably your lives.

"I will give a constitution to the Kingdom as well for the benefit of the subjects as the sovereign founded upon justice and free of all persecution."

No taxes were to be levied for a year.

Mr. Hall, in writing to the major of brigade in Honduras, asking permission that Mr. Bennett may remove the more needy of the settlers, says Captain Hedgecock, of the Honduras packet, unlawfully appropriated the greater part of the provisions and stores. He asserted that not one-fourth of the stores were landed, but that "Captain Hedgecock detained the greater part to satisfy claims against Sir Gregor McGregor, as head of the government, and that of the Kennersley Castle." My father calls the captain of the Honduras packet Hitchcock, and attributes his leaving with most of the provisions to

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a threatening norther; nevertheless, when Colonel Hall went to Cape Gracios a Dios he succeeded in persuading Captain Hitchcock to part with medical stores only, and he refused to return to the settlement. He had evidently become persuaded of the hopelessness of the venture and uncertainty of being paid.

The date of the Spanish settlement, whose destruction the King described to my father, corresponds closely with the date of the surrender of the coast by Great Britain to Spain, and the buildings were probably those of the earlier British settlers.

There was not a little newspaper criticism of the Poyais scheme after its failure. The *Scots Magazine* of September, 1823 (page 324), contains an article on the credulity of mankind as illustrated by the fate of the Poyais emigrants. The writer says: "The emigrants had been informed that they would find a settlement established. They found three miserable huts, inhabited by three or four Americans." He adds that "McGregor's agent attempted to contradict the truth of their accounts, and several advertisements were published with the view of keeping up the hoax."

Sir Gregor McGregor continued to maintain the farce of being the ruler of a principality, for in 1836 he composed a constitution, which he dedicated "To the Inhabitants of Poyaisia and other districts of the Territory of the Mosquito Shore." In it he styles himself their "sincere friend and fellow citizen." It commences: "We, the representatives of the Freemen of the Mosquito Territory, in General

Convocation met, resolve that the Territory shall henceforth be called Indialand." It is prefaced by the same propositions as to the inherent right of man which are introduced in the United States Constitution. It, however, declares that "slavery is forever abolished in this state."

The supreme legislative power is vested in an assembly of the representatives of the people; the executive in a Governor and Council, and the judicial in a senate, a supreme court and inferior courts. It was evidently assumed to be an independent republic, as no mention is made of Great Britain.

His Highness was, however, getting into very deep water, for in 1839 he addressed a petition to the Venezuelan Government and pleaded that in consideration of his past services to the Republic it should extend to him pecuniary assistance, confer on him citizenship and restore his rank in the army; all of which requests were granted.

My father's account of the short-lived colony, which I reproduce intact, was written from a diary, evidently revised after the events, probably when he was in the United States. It varies in some minor particulars from the evidence elicited during the official inquiry. The prospectus by which my father and others were tempted to join the expedition is not more extravagant than other similar mendacious documents of our own day.

The Journal was published in the Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Session of 1868-'9.

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PAPER I.—ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPT TO FORM A SETTLEMENT ON THE MOSQUITO SHORE, IN 1823.

By JAMES DOUGLAS, M. D.

(Read before the Society, February 10th, 1869.)

On my return from India, in the fall of 1822, I received an appointment as Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Presidency. While in London, awaiting the departure of a vessel for Calcutta, I filled up my spare time by attending the Practice and Lectures of Sir Astley Cooper, in Guy and St. Thomas' Hospitals. One day, while awaiting the opening of the lecture room, and amusing myself by reading on the walls of the hall the notices of boarding-houses, fencing and drawing masters, &c., I was attracted by an open letter addressed to Sir Astley Cooper by the Secretary to the Government of Poyais, requesting him to recommend a well-qualified surgeon to accompany a party of settlers to the Mosquito Shore.

I at once proceeded to the Office of the Government, No. 1, Dowgate Hill, where I found three or four portly-looking gentlemen, directors, to whom I introduced myself. Finding that I had just come from India and was about to return with a permanent appointment, I received a hearty welcome; and after some discussion and hesitation on my part, I agreed to give up India and proceed to the Mosquito Shore. My engagement comprised a salary of £1 *per diem*, a furnished house, servant, horse, medicines, &c.

A great difference of opinion existed, and still exists, as to the objects, the end, aim and management of the Poyais scheme. As far as I could learn at the time, and have since learnt, the conduct of the directors was perfectly in good faith, and their objects perfectly legitimate. They signally failed from ignorance and from causes which will be readily recognized as I proceed. I may, however, now explain the origin and objects of an expedition which involved so serious a sacrifice of property, and so fearful a loss of life. The Spanish provinces at this time had declared their independence, and were at war with old Spain. Bolivar and Sir Gregor MacGregor had failed in an attack on Carthagena, and had escaped with great difficulty, Sir Gregor having

succeeded in reaching Cape Gracias a Dios, where he remained some time with George Frederick, the King of the Mosquito nation. At this time, the Mosquito Shore was under the protection of Great Britain; and the King had been brought up, educated and crowned in Jamaica, under the care of the Duke of Manchester, the Governor of the British West India Islands. While at Cape Gracias a Dios, Sir Gregor obtained from the Mosquito King a grant of land on the coast, for purposes of settlement; but being without money or influence, he sold his rights to some merchants in London for £16,000. They organized a company for the purpose of settling the land, but principally, as I was informed, for the purpose of supplying British dry goods to the revolted provinces.

However, after my agreement with the Directors, and laying in the requisite medical stores, &c., I embarked at Gravesend, on 22nd November, in a vessel called the "Honduras Packet," Hitchcock, master. I found my fellow-passengers in the cabin to be composed of Col. Hall, the commandant, who was about 60 years of age, and had been most of his life in India; Mr. Westcott, secretary; Mr. Googer, commissary; and myself, surgeon. In the fore-cabin were 27 young men, some of them holding situations, and some going out as settlers. Three of the latter were married. In the steerage were 46 men and women, and a very few children. The captain and owner of the vessel was an old master in the navy—a lying, blustering, but on the whole a good-natured man. After an average passage, we arrived at St. Thomas, where we remained 14 days. I was delighted with St. Thomas. The inhabitants, principally Danes and French, were extremely pleasant and hospitable. Slavery existed, but apparently only in name; the negroes on the plantations seemed to be a most happy and jolly race, apparently always on the grin.

On 21st January, anchored in Port Royal, Jamaica, where we found four ships of war under command of Admiral Rowley, and three piratical vessels, which had been lately captured. I spent a fortnight very pleasantly in Kingston, where I met some old school-fellows, who did all in their

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power to dissuade me from going on the Spanish main. They represented in vain, but as I afterwards found out, very truly, the unhealthiness of the climate, the want of the ordinary necessities of life, the dangerous character of the natives, and the difficulty of getting away again, should I desire to do so. During my stay in Jamaica, I attended the trial of a band of pirates before the Admiralty Court. I could not recognize the magnificent specimen of a leader so graphically described by Tom Cringle in his famous log. Whether I was prejudiced by the idea I entertained of their profession, and the stories current of their wanton cruelties, I know not: I thought them the most savage, blood-thirsty, repulsive-looking wretches I had ever seen. They were of all colors, North and South Americans, British, Negroes and Mulattoes. When passing Port Royal Point on my departure, I saw twenty-one of the gang hanging in chains.

In February, 1823, we arrived on the Mosquito Shore, and about noon anchored off the mouth of the Black River. A number of the natives, accompanied by a half-caste American, came off to us in a large canoe, called a dory. They obstinately resisted Col. Hall's wish to go on shore with them. During the discussion, one of the natives called to the party in the cabin, who immediately rose and proceeded to leave the ship, in spite of our entreaties to them to remain: the leader remarked that it was getting late in the day, that the Bar at the mouth of the River must be crossed before dark, &c., &c., go he would, and go he did, in what seemed to us to be in unnecessary haste. About half an hour after the departure of the party, the water being calm, I was fishing over the stern of the vessel, when a cat's-paw crept over the water. In a few minutes it increased to a hurricane. The iron cable snapped, and before sail could be got on the ship, I could count the stones on the beach. The hurricane continued all night, which was very dark, and although cold and wet, every one remained on deck, listening to the surf beating on the shore, and expecting every moment the vessel to strike. At day-light we found ourselves about half a mile from the shore: the sky was clear, but the hurricane still continued. At 3 p.m., the ship had got more of an offing,

and we then bore away for the Island of Bonacca, which we reached next day in the afternoon.

The Harbour of Bonacca is landlocked by seven rocky islands, or keys, as they are called. These islets are covered with cocoa-nut trees. Bonacca Island itself is about four or five miles in diameter, but without any inhabitants. We found numbers of wild pigs and coneys, and abundance of wild fowl. We remained on the Island ten days, ostensibly, until the damage to the sails and rigging was repaired. During this time, several of the passengers were laid up with sore feet, from the deposit of the eggs of the chigoe under the skin, in consequence of going without shoes or stockings.

On again reaching the roadstead off the mouth of the Black River, the half-caste American and the natives shewed, or pretended to shew great surprise at seeing us, supposing we had been driven on shore, or had foundered in the hurricane. We reproached them for not warning us of its approach, and for evidently wishing the loss of the vessel and of all on board. Being late in the afternoon, we deferred going on shore until the next day.

The next morning, accordingly, we disembarked in large canoes. We found a tremendous surf on the bar which ran across the mouth of the river, about half a mile from the shore. We, however, were all landed safely, with the exception of a few of the men who remained to assist in getting out the cargo. We looked in vain for the church and the houses which we had been led to believe existed. The unbroken forest reached down to the water's edge. The tents having been left on board, we were fain to make fires of the drift-wood and sleep on the beach.

Next morning, guided by the Indians, we selected a site for the settlement on the bank of a lagoon, about two miles from the mouth of the Black River, or Rio Tinto of the Spaniards; and as there was not a clear space sufficient to enable us to pitch tents, all hands were soon busy in removing the trees and brushwood. We succeeded in clearing a patch, and the next day got eight tents on shore and the most of the private baggage. Many of the people finding the tents too hot and oppressive under a tropical sun, erected wigwams,

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covered with spare sheets, blankets and leafy branches of trees.

On the following day, while still busy clearing the banks of the lagoon, we were visited by a party of Caribs, the remains of the aborigines of the W. I. Islands. These people at the beginning of the century were confined to the Island of St. Vincent, and being irreclaimable and very troublesome, were finally captured by the British government, and landed on the main land, south of Truxillo, and just beyond the borders of the Mosquito Kingdom. I found them a fine manly race with the peculiar artificial form of skull, and in intellect and disposition, much superior to the Mosquito men. I engaged a band of five of them to build me a house, which they did remarkably well, and in a remarkably short space of time. They sunk corner posts of the pitch pine, leaving about twelve feet over the ground, and smaller posts for doors, windows and cross ties; the whole was then walled in with wild sugar cane, and thickly thatched with the leaves of the palm tree. The doors and windows were of cane, and were swung from the lintels. My Carib friends and I maintained a very good understanding during my stay on the coast. They supplied me with game, fish, and fruit, in return for bleeding them, an operation of which they were very fond, and were never tired. However, to return to our daily routine. On the 4th day, got two puncheons of rum on shore, and several casks of pork, beef, and flour.

The next forenoon I was alarmed by seeing the ship in the offing set sail, and steer to the southward, taking away our arms, spirits, merchandise, medicines, and five of the settlers. Capt. Hitchcock sent word by the Indians who were employed in discharging and landing the cargo, that fearing another Norther, he would stay no longer, and would not return; but would land the remainder of the goods at Cape Gracias a Dios. This was a terrible blow and great discouragement, but a few hours convinced us of the wisdom and necessity of Capt. Hitchcock's decision, as during the latter part of the same day the Norther did set in, and blew with such violence as to level the huts, and carry away the tents. My cane house not being finished, my own tent, though well pegged

down, was blown away, and in the night I was left exposed to the storm, and to such a deluge of rain as is only experienced in the tropics. The next morning, the condition of the people was piteous in the extreme, and more easily to be imagined than described. The weather, however, though still windy, was fine. The Indians kept us liberally supplied with peccary, venison, fish and fruit, in exchange for rum, powder, and shot. In the afternoon I took possession of my house and felt prouder than under other circumstances to have owned the best house in Finsbury Square. I bought a small canoe of mahogany wood, which I could easily paddle by myself, and what with improving my house, shooting, fishing, reading, and my slight professional duties, I passed my time most pleasantly for several weeks. This, however, was not destined to last longer; in March the rum was expended, and from some cause unknown, the Indians disappeared. About the same time several cases of bilious remittent fever occurred. I had nothing but my lancets and a phial of emetic tartar. I could say like the lines of the celebrated Dr. John Lettsom:

"When patients sick to me apply,
I physicks, bleeds, and sweats them;
If, after that, they choose to die,
What's that to me!—I. LETTSOM."

However, at this period none of my patients died; the bilious remittent changing into an obstinate intermittent.

At the end of March, had ten cases of fever, of more than the ordinary intensity. To add to our distress, the supply of tea, sugar, biscuit, flour, and spirits, was exhausted; nothing but salt beef and the uncertain and irregular supply of fish and game. At this time, some Indians came from Cape Gracias a Dios, and told us that a large ship was laying there, with plenty of rum. Knowing it to be the Honduras Packet, Col. Hall immediately set off in a dory with two of the settlers and eleven Indians.

Three days afterwards, a large ship anchored off the Bar; she proved to be the Kennesly Castle from Leith, with 160 settlers. During the few following days, they were all safely landed with their luggage; the vessel, however, brought no

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provisions for the colony; all that was obtained were the surplus stores, laid in for passengers on the voyage. A gentleman named Smith, was attached to the Kennealy Castle as surgeon. With the ship the natives reappeared, and assisted in landing the passengers and their goods; for some unexplained reason or cause, they would not, however, hunt or fish for us.

On the 11th April, my earthly career nearly closed. Being desirous to go on board the ship in the offing, I started in a dory with Dr. Smith and three men to paddle; on reaching the surf we found five rows of breakers, and passed two without difficulty; a panic then seized the men, who ceased to paddle, and insisted on returning. The result was that the dory lost way, and the next breaker left us struggling in the water. We were about half a mile from shore. Two of the men were good swimmers; Dr. Smith, however, got hold of one of them, and was only induced to relinquish his hold by blows of a paddle from the other. I then succeeded in getting Dr. Smith within reach of the dory, and instructed him how to hold on to its extreme end. A party of Indians on the Point, seeing our mishap, launched their canoe, and picked up the two swimmers, nearly exhausted. After landing them, they returned to our assistance, and taking off Dr. Smith and the third man, they paddled out of the surf, where leaving one Indian to take them on shore, the other two came to my assistance. They first righted the dory and then cleared it of the water by see-sawing it until the most of the water was splashed out. They then got it out of the surf, leaving me still holding on to the stern until in smooth water. The two men first picked up, were little the worse; Dr. Smith was very ill for a couple of days; the third man never rallied, and died in about three hours. On the 15th, the Kennealy Castle sailed, the sickness on shore increased, a great deal of rain fell, and as the people were not sheltered from it, they suffered greatly. The atmosphere became thick, sultry and oppressive; the type of the fever changed, and on this day one young man died. The few medicines I had procured from the Kennealy Castle were soon exhausted.

25th.—Of 220 individuals all were sick, with the exception of nine. One family of seven persons—father, mother, and

five sons—were all ill: they lay on the ground on cane leaves. On visiting them this evening, found the mother had been dead some hours, without the knowledge of the others.

26th.—To-day, three of the men, while crossing the lagoon in front of my house, in a pitpan, upset. One of the party, a good swimmer, struck out for the shore: he had only proceeded a few yards when he shrieked out and suddenly sank. He had evidently been seized by one of the alligators, which were numerous in the lagoons. Alligator was shot the next day.

27th.—To-day, a highly respectable and very worthy man committed suicide. He had been ill, but was recovering, though still unable to rise. He insisted that he was going to die, and wished me to take charge of his little property, and of a letter to his wife. Last evening I had given him a little wine; this morning, when on my way to visit him, I heard a shot fired, and on entering his hut, found that he had loaded a horse-pistol to the muzzle, and had literally blown himself to pieces. Not being able to get any one to dig a grave, I collected some brushwood, which I piled in his hut, and set fire to it. To-day, five men and a woman took a large dory, got safely through the surf, and off to the northward.

28th.—The two young men who had been upset with me in the surf, and another, left the settlement with some Indians who were going to Baliza.

May 1st.—Another man died. To-day, Col. Hall returned, bringing some of the medical and other stores with him. He had found the Honduras Packet at the Cape, but could not induce the master to return to the Settlement. He announced an intended visit of the King.

6th.—Every one sick and helpless, excepting Colonel Hall, myself, and a rascal named McGregor. Colonel Hall and myself took some of the sick into our houses, and attended them as well as we were able.

7th.—To-day, George Frederick, the King of the Mosquito Nation, arrived, accompanied by several of his Chiefs, or Ministers. His arrival was a perfect God-send to us, as he caused his people to hunt and fish for us. He was a tall and

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handsome-looking man, but a most debauched character. He drank excessively, swore a good deal, and was excessively fond of playing at "all-fours." He spoke and read English remarkably well. One of his staff, a hale old man, had been in Jamaica with the King, during his minority, and until his coronation. He was very communicative, and gave me a good deal of information on the history of the Mosquito Shore. I will never forget the diabolical glee with which he gave me an account of the final destruction of the Spanish settlement, upwards of thirty years before, and in which he had taken a part. He said that on a dark night the Indians had surrounded the entire place, and, while the inhabitants were asleep, had set fire to the buildings, and massacred every soul—men, women and children. Not one escaped. He told me that my hut was erected on the site of the hospital: this accounted for my having found some square tiles and a lot of broken glass, when levelling my floors. He pointed out the site of the chapel, or church, and took me to see the house of the Governor. We cut our way through the brush with our machetes, and found the remains of what had been a good stone house. Most of the first story, if it ever had more than one, was still standing, but closely embraced by the trees, shrubs, and creeping plants, with which it was almost quite hidden. Upon the whole, I was pleased with what I had seen, which satisfied me that the frontispiece to Colonel Strangeway's book was not purely mythical: it shewed some good-looking buildings surrounding a church with a respectable steeple. I suspect the veracious Colonel had taken his view from some old Spanish print.

15th.—The King and his court departed rather suddenly, and in great or pretended wrath. He had demanded from Col. Hall that he and the whole of the people should take the oath of allegiance to him. To this demand Col. Hall would not listen for an instant; angry words ensued, which ended in His Majesty and his following getting into their canoes and starting back to the Cape, with scanty leave taking.

The principal, if not the only cause of regret for the King's departure, was in the circumstance that he took all the

Indians away with him, and in consequence deprived us of our necessary supplies of game, fish and fruit.

20th.—A small schooner from Balise in the Bay of Honduras, anchored this morning off the mouth of the river, the owner, Mr. Bennett, having heard through the English papers of our settlement. Although bound for Carthagena, Mr. Bennett most generously offered to convey as many of the worst cases among the sick, as his vessel would hold, to Balise; this most generous offer was thankfully accepted, and the next day the schooner departed with 57 persons.

On their departure I felt a peculiar depression of spirits. I called to discuss our state and prospects with Col. Hall, and while conversing with him, became suddenly seized with acute pain in my head and giddiness. I hardly know how I reached my hut. I recovered with a vague and dreamy idea of having bled myself, and of having neglected or been unable to bandage up my arm after the operation. In five or six days I regained my full consciousness, and was able to sit up in bed, but an obstinate intermittent set in, which reduced me to a skeleton. This, and the weakness caused by the excessive loss of blood, rendered me unable to get out. During the intermissions, I was only able to sit at the window and shoot parrots, lizards, or anything eatable or uneatable, which came within shot, to sustain life in myself and in an Irish woman, one of the individuals whom I had taken in and nursed some time before. To this poor and faithful woman I owe much, as she devoted herself to my care, although she herself was weak, and still suffering from ague. In June, H. Majesty's sloop of war Redwing came to an anchor in the Roads. She had been despatched to our assistance by Gen. Codd, the superintendent at Balise. From the time of my attack, I do not remember any occurrence distinctly. I have a dim and dreamy remembrance of being carried to the beach in a hammock by the sailors, and of lying on the deck of the Redwing until her arrival in Balise. I am aware that she took off all the settlers, excepting two or three who were well enough to remain and take charge of what was left of the property at the settlement. On my arrival in Balise I was placed in lodgings with a very kind negress. During my

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stay I recovered some strength, so that occasionally only, I was enabled to crawl out. My mind also somewhat recovered its tone. The ague, however, was most persistent. I was as thin as a whipping post, and as yellow as a guinea. While I remained in Balize, one of the three young men who had left the Black River with some Indians in April, made his appearance in Balize. He stated that on the passage he and his two companions were seized by the Indians and thrown overboard about a mile and a half from the shore; one sank immediately, the second swam a considerable distance before sinking, the survivor got on shore and reached Omcoa, and was forwarded to Balize. As the Mosquito men were still in Balize, they were arrested, and I was carried to court to identify them. As no court having criminal jurisdiction existed in Balize, the accuser and the accused were sent in a vessel of war to Jamaica for trial.

Before my arrival in Balize, some of the party of six who had left the settlement on 27th April were brought to Balize. When at the entrance of the Bay of Honduras, they had staved their dory at night on a small rocky key. They saved some salt beef, but had no water; after lingering for several days, two died from thirst. They were then picked up by a Spanish turtling boat, where two more of them died. The woman was the only one who suffered little.

In September, I became so ill and weak as to be unable to rise. My recollections of what passed for some weeks were so faint, that on my recovery I could with difficulty recall any occurrences. I have a dim idea of a gentleman visiting and praying with me. I have a dim recollection of him offering me a passage to Boston, and some time after, of his heading a procession of sailors who carried me on board of a schooner in a hammock slung on an oar. The schooner touched and remained some days in Havannah, waiting for the convoy of men-of-war, as at that time the West India seas were greatly infested by pirates; but I was too ill and weak to be moved out of my berth.

On my arrival in Boston I was sent on shore and placed in Quarantine. The next day, however, or the day after that,

on a formal consultation I was discharged and sent up to the city.

I append herewith a copy of the printed circular issued by the Company:

Regulations of the Poyais Land Office, No. 1, Dowgate-Hill, London.

I.—THE LANDS are sold in Square Miles, or Sections of 640 Acres; Half-Sections of 320 Acres; Quarter-Sections of 160 Acres; in Eighths of 80 Acres; and Sixteenths of 40 Acres.

II.—The Proprietors of Land in this Territory, pay a Feu-Duty of One Cent. of a Dollar per Acre. One Hundred Cents. make a Dollar, which is equal to about 4s. 6d. Sterling; the Feu-Duty, therefore, does not amount to more than about a Halfpenny per Acre; *and the payment thereof is not to commence until five years after the date of the purchase.* The Grants are transferable, *without expence, by simple indorsement, in presence of two Witnesses;* and it is specially stipulated, that, *with the exception of the foresaid Feu-Duty,* the Purchaser shall be free from all and every Impost or Taxation whatsoever, unless such as shall be voluntarily and freely agreed to by the *Grantees, their Heirs, or Assigns, for the benefit of the State.*

III.—The Price of these Lands is at present *Three Shillings per Acre,* and on the 15th of November will be advanced to *Four Shillings,* and a further advance will take place soon thereafter. As it is only intended to *sell a particular quantity of Land at these low prices,* should that quantity be sold previous to a certain period, the Price of the Lands will be considerably advanced. It may also be observed, that, should certain circumstances take place, *which are in a state of progress, a much greater advance than here noticed will probably be the consequence.*

IV.—Purchasers may secure to themselves Grants at the Price of the Day, *by paying a Deposit of 25 per Cent.* previous to the next Advance, and the Remainder of the Purchase-Money within such time after the date of the Deposit

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as may be agreed upon, by which they will be entitled to receive their Grants, even though the Price in the meantime may have advanced. Those Purchasers, however, who fail to pay up the Balance at the stipulated time, may, upon application, receive a Grant of Land equal in value to the amount of their Deposit, provided the application be made within the term of Six Months from the date of the said Deposit: but if, at the expiration of this last term, no application should be made, the Deposit will then be considered forfeited. The TITLE-DEEDS may be seen, and every information obtained, by applying personally, or by Letter, (post paid) addressed to the AGENT of the *Poyais Land Office*, No. 1, *Dowgate-Hill*, LONDON.

The TERRITORY of POYAIS, which forms within itself a free and independent State, under the government of its own Casique, is situated on the mountainous side of the Bay of Honduras, in North America; is three or four days' sail from Jamaica; thirty hours' from the British Settlement of Balize in Yucatan; and about eight days' from New Orleans, in the United States of America.—The CLIMATE is remarkably healthy, and agrees admirably with the constitution of Europeans; many of whom having become much debilitated by a long residence in the West Indies, have been completely restored to health by a removal for a short period to the Bay of Honduras.—The SOIL is extremely rich and fertile, bearing *Three Crops* of Indian Corn in a Year; and produces not only all the necessaries of life in profusion, but is also well adapted for the cultivation of all those valuable Commercial Commodities which have rendered the West Indies so important;—such as Sugar, Coffee, Cotton, Tobacco, Cocoa, &c. &c.—The Face of the Country is beautifully varied by Hill and Valley, and likewise abounds with fine Savannas or Plains, and in Forests of the most valuable TIMBER, such as Mahogany, Cedar, Santa Maria Wood, Rose-Wood, Zebra-Wood, Pitch-Pine, and many others useful for every purpose of Husbandry, erection of Houses, Shipbuilding, Cabinet Ware, &c.—and the West-India Markets always present a ready and profitable sale for all sorts of Lumber as well as Provisions.—Tar, Pitch, Turpentine, and Ashes, can be pro-

duced in abundance.—Dye Woods are found in great plenty, such as Fustic, Yellow Sanders, Nicaragua Wood, &c.—Indigo is indigenous, and can also be cultivated to great advantage.—A variety of Gums, Medicinal Plants, and Drugs, are plentifully dispersed all over the Country.—Horses and black Cattle are abundant, as also Deer, wild Hogs, Poultry, &c. &c.—The Rivers are numerous, and there is abundance of Streams of Water; several of the former are navigable for a considerable way into the interior of the Country, and many of them produce, by washing the Sand in fine Sieves, native Globules of pure Gold. Many Gold Mines, and those very rich, are found in the Country, which might, with proper management, be wrought to great benefit.—A great variety of excellent Fish is to be met with in all the Rivers, Lagoons, and on the Shores: Turtle is very abundant, especially the species denominated Hawksbill, which is particularly desirable on account of its Shell, so much prized in Europe, under the name of *Tortoise-shell*.—Fruits of every description are likewise in great plenty.

This Territory adjoins the Spanish American Province of Honduras and Nicaragua, from which, however, it is separated by a chain of almost inaccessible Mountains. The Spaniards, in former times, made several unsuccessful attempts to subdue the native Indians; but since their last defeat, which happened about thirty years ago, they have never shewn any disposition to molest them. This Country is indeed so completely defended by nature, that any hostile attempts against it are impracticable. The native Inhabitants are a brave and independent Race, who esteem and are affectionately attached to the British. Most of them speak English, are considerably advanced in civilization, and their Labour can be had on very moderate terms.

An intelligent Gentleman, who was many years senior Naval Officer in the Bay of Honduras, &c. asserts, (and his assertion is confirmed by every person who is acquainted with, or who has written on the subject) "That this Country, taking it in all points of view, surpasses not only every part of the West Indies, but that, on account of the richness of the Soil, the luxuriance of the Woods, the great salubrity

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of the Air, the remarkable excellence of its Waters and Provisions, with its almost unrivalled Harbours for Shipping with which the Shore abounds, is excelled by no Country under the influence of British Dominion."

1st NOVEMBER, 1822.

CHAPTER V

MY FATHER'S ACTIVE PROFESSIONAL LIFE

His autobiographical notes, which I copy, describe his short residence in the United States and his compulsory and hasty transfer to Canada:

"On the arrival of the schooner in Boston I was sent on shore, and placed in Quarantine. The next day however, or a day or two after that, I was discharged, and sent up to the City.

"I was removed to a very comfortable boarding-house, kept by Mrs. Wilson. I lay there for many weeks, most of the time in a semi-conscious condition. I was most kindly attended by Dr. Warren, to whom, I am convinced, that under Providence, I owe my life. I regret exceedingly, that I never had an opportunity of acknowledging my sense of his skill and of his kindness to me. On my partial recovery being still extremely emaciated, very weak, and unable to find a passage to England, I embarked in a schooner for New York. I found on board as fellow passengers, an Irish gentleman, with his lady and niece. They dissuaded me from my purpose of sailing from New York, on the plea that it would be a pity to do so, without seeing something more of the

United States. As I was too weak to travel, excepting by water, I went with them in a long masted schooner, to Albany, from Albany, I took passage by the Erie Canal to Buffalo, intending to descend the river to Quebec. On arrival at Utica, finding that the banks of the Canal had given way at a village called Amsterdam, my companions took the stage, and I, being too weak to bear land carriage, was compelled to remain in Utica, until the damage to the Canal was made good. I took up my abode in Amos Gay's hotel, where I impatiently awaited the completion of the repairs to the Canal. I was rapidly gaining strength, and was able to walk about, having got rid of my ague, which had persecuted me daily for seven months, and had reduced me to a yellow skeleton. In the meanwhile, winter had made its appearance, and the Canal would be closed with ice. I was seriously meditating a return to New York by the Canal, when an accident occurred which was the means of altering entirely my future life and career. One afternoon, a respectable farmer, whom I had occasionally met at the hotel table, came to me with a request, that I should visit a man who had been run through by the handle of a pitch-fork. He took me in his waggon to a village called Paris, where I found the patient, a well to do farmer, surrounded by a couple of medical men, and several sympathising friends. He told me, that while throwing down hay from a shelf in his barn, his feet had slipped, and he had fallen to the lower floor with the pitch-fork, the handle of which, had run him through the body. On examination, I found the wound was in the groin, and

that portions of his shirt and trowsers had been carried into the abdomen, and had remained there. The bladder and intestines seemed to have escaped injury. As he was a tall powerful man, of spare habit of body, and extremely temperate, I thought that if the plug of clothes could be extracted, he might recover from the effects of the injury. On turning him over, I felt a hardness over the crest of the opposite ilium, I cut down upon it, until a puff of air, shewed me that I had entered the cavity of the abdomen; I found the plug of clothes, and extracted it. The patient recovered, without any untoward symptom. I awoke the next morning, and found myself famous, Surgical practice poured in on me, and determined me to remain in Utica until the Spring, and then to be guided by circumstances. Circumstances did guide me. I became attached to a most amiable and talented young lady. I abandoned the idea of India, I built me a house, I married, I sent to England for my young brother George, and settled down to practise, with the intention of spending my life in Utica.

"My first patient was a wealthy farmer, he was extremely grateful, he gave me fifty dollars, and subsequently made me the present of a horse. The Western part of the State being then newly settled, and the population much scattered, my practice, which was principally surgical, took me sometimes long distances. My health however, steadily improved, and I was extremely happy in my domestic relations.

"In the Autumn of 1824, I was invited by the faculty of the Medical College at Auburn, to deliver a course of lectures on Anatomy and Surgery, the

gentleman from Boston, who had previously filled the chair, being ill. The State's prison for New York, was at Auburn, and as the law gave for dissection, the bodies of all prisoners dying in the Institution, there was no lack of the raw material. The offer made to me for my course of lectures and demonstrations, were liberal, and I was engaged to repeat it on the following session."

I have found the following documents bearing on his connection with the Auburn Medical School and his reception of the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the Berkshire Medical Institution after his departure from Utica:

"AUBURN MEDICAL SCHOOL.

"THE attention of the Medical Faculty and community generally, who are friendly to the establishment of a Medical School at Auburn, is solicited in favour of the present efforts to prepare the way for a permanent institution.

"The course of Lectures for this year will commence on the first day of March, next.

"On Anatomy and Operations in Surgery by JAMES DOUGLASS, M. D.

"On Obstetrick by Dr. I. H. SMITH.

"On Theory and practice of Medicine by Dr. E. D. TUTTLE.

"On Chymistry and Natural Philosophy by JEDEDIAH SMITH, M. D.

"The object is to *commence* a Medical Institution. Though the courses will be as full and complete as at the Colleges, the fee required will only be such as to defray the actual expenses.

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"Those gentlemen who intend to favour our views and receive the benefits of the course of *Anatomical Demonstrations*, will be pleased to forward their names to Dr. Tuttle, or Dr. I. H. Smith, on or before the 15th of February next.

"*Auburn, January 15th, 1825.*

"The inhabitants of the Village of Auburn, recommend to the attention and patronage of the public the object and undertaking above proposed, believing that from the characters of the medical gentlemen engaged in it, it will be rendered highly important and useful in promoting the science and art on which they propose to lecture. Dr. Douglass it appears from his credentials is a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and we are also satisfied from them, that he has enjoyed extensive and valuable means of perfecting himself in his profession which the Cities of Edinburgh and London afford. We are of opinion that the part assigned to him will be ably, usefully and scientifically performed. The three other gentlemen are known to us and we have no hesitation in recommending them to the public as entirely competent to perform their several parts in a manner which will give satisfaction to students and be honourable to themselves.

"GEO. B. THROOP, E. MILLER,

"WM. H. SEWARD, G. POWERS,

"E. HOSKINS, D. C. LANSING,

"E. D. THROOP, R. L. SMITH,

"M. C. REED, M. L. R. PERRINE."

(Written on Reverse of Printed Announcement)

"Auburn, Jan. 25th, 1825.

"Dear Sir:—

"You see on this paper what Dr. Tuttle and others intend accomplishing. I came to this place from Ithaca a few days ago to give a course of chemical and philosophical experiments and I expected you would be here at the same time. My class of medical students and citizens are desirous that I should commence, but I wish to delay until you arrive. I wish that you would let me know if there is any doubt respecting your course beginning on the *first* of March, and what will prevent your coming, etc. Many students will come to attend the chemical if they could at the same time attend the anatomical lectures. This village has a number of medical students. I have made these requests of you because I have not heard the particulars from Dr. Tuttle. I am in hopes nothing will prevent you from giving the course as is expected. This *notice* was prepared before I came.

"Remember me to Dr. Church and Dr. Coventry.

"Yours most respectfully,

"(Signed) JEDEDIAH SMITH.

"Dr. James Douglass."

"This may Certify that for some months past I have been acquainted with Doctor James Douglas. It appears from his Diplomas that he has had very favourable opportunities of acquiring a competent knowledge of Anatomy and Surgery, and so far as I have been enabled to judge, he appears expert in

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his profession. I know nothing derogatory to his character as a Gentleman. Utica, Jany. 7th, 1825.

"ALEX. COVENTRY."

"BERKSHIRE MEDICAL INSTITUTION

"Oct. 5th, 1826.

"To James Douglas, M.D.

"Dear Sir:—

"With pleasure I inform you that in compliance with the representations and wishes of the Faculty of this Instn., the Trustees of Wms. College have conferred on you the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine. As you did not in your second communication intimate which would be most agreeable to your wishes, an honorary degree or a degree of a different character, and since presumedly the former would fully answer your purpose, we followed the dictates of our own feelings, and succeeded with the Trustees as I have stated. No expense attaches to the transaction except some five or six dollars which may have been paid out for the document, its execution and postage, which I have been obliged to pay on all the communications which have passed between us, while travelling in the mail to and from the line between the State and the Province, not being able to persuade our Postmaster that it was not his duty to exact the P. Office fees. This, however, has been a matter of necessity, growing out of the nature of things, and is rather to be placed to the account of international courtesy, which is at all times due from one gentleman to another, situated as we are. I therefore pray you to consider it of no

consequence, and give yourself no further trouble about it. Should business or pleasure bring you this way, it would give me and my colleagues much satisfaction to become personally acquainted with you. I should have written you sooner had I not wanted to have your degree executed, which was indeed done some time since, but did not come to hand till last evening. I hope this apology for delay will be satisfactory. Will you do me the favour to inform Dr. Morrin that his documents came safely to hand a few days ago. They arrived too late to be acted on this year, but shall be duly attended to next. I have the honour to be, sir,

“Yours, etc., etc.”

My father's autobiography continues: “On my return to Utica, my brother George, having arrived, I fitted up a dissecting room over my office, and resumed my dissections. I had obtained the body of a Negro boy, a slave of Judge Kipp; the fact became known, and as body snatching was a State's prison offence, the Judge was proceeding to take steps to send me back to Auburn as a State's prisoner, when I determined to go boldly to the Judge, and plead my own case. I was very ungraciously received; I was charged with violating the sanctity of his household, and outraging the feelings of the ladies of his family. I pleaded that a knowledge of Anatomy was indispensable to a medical man, that, knowing the penalty, I could have no intention to wound the feelings of the ladies, for whom I entertained the most profound respect, and that I had taken precautions against it coming to his or their knowledge.

The Judge left the room for a minute or two; soon after his return, two ladies entered it, ostensibly for the purpose of looking for something, but, evidently to see the person who had committed the atrocious act. The Judge then read me a lecture, saying, that if the case had come before him in any other form, he would have considered it to be his duty to press the penalty, but, as it affected him personally, he would let me off, on my assurance that I would not commit such a crime again. This I gave him, knowing that he had not another Negro boy to die.

"The following summer passed very pleasantly. I was very successful in my practice, very happy in my domestic relations, and very sanguine in my future prospects. In the ensuing Autumn, I again fulfilled my engagements to the Auburn Medical College, and returned to Utica, to my practice, and to my studies. A Scotch lad, without friends, had died at a factory at Hartford, about four miles from town; instead of his body, mistaking the grave, I got that of a well known and highly respected citizen. A few days afterward, being suddenly called out, I left my office door unlocked for my brother, who was at the moment absent. On my return, I found a stage-driver, who finding no one in the office below, had gone upstairs, and was looking at his old employer. He exclaimed, 'I guess I never expected to see my old friend P. again.' He assured me that he would not mention the circumstances, etc., etc. I professed to believe him, but, as soon as he was gone, my brother and I reburied the remains, and having no faith in the stage-driver's promises, but full faith in Judge Kipp's

assurances, Mrs. Douglas and I packed up a few things, I harnessed my horse to a small sleigh, called a pung, and lost no time in getting into Canada by crossing the St. Lawrence on the ice, at Ogdensburg. My brother remained in Utica for some months, to sell my house, and settle my affairs. I never heard that the stage-driver mentioned his discovery, and my flight may have been needless. At any rate this abruptly terminated my citizenship of the U. S., and I have not yet decided whether or not it has been to my advantage.

"On my arrival in Montreal, I found two of my old Edinburgh class mates, Drs. Stevenson and Holmes. They both strongly advised me to remain in Canada, and I must confess, that since my marriage, my desire and intention to return to India, were considerably weakened. I remained several days in Montreal, when, the season advancing, and fearing to lose snow roads, I embarked in my pung and started for Quebec, where I arrived on a fine afternoon, on the 13th. March, 1826. Finding myself in the approaches to St. Louis Gate, and thinking that I was entering the military works, I turned round, and approaching John's Gate, I again turned round, and seeing St. Rochs below me, I made my way there, and ultimately got into Quebec by following a carter through Hope Gate.

"Once fairly within the walls, I looked out for an hotel with stabling, and after a while, I got into Lafontaine's, in what was then the Hay Market. My wife and I then strolled through the streets and ramparts, and were so charmed with the situation, the military look, the views of the magnificent river and sur-

rounding scenery, that we resolved to make it our future home. The next day, I waited upon the Revd. Mr. Booth, the Wesleyan minister, and requested him to recommend me to private lodgings. He took me to Mr. Smillie, the jeweller on Mountain Hill, where my wife and I were very comfortably lodged, until we had provided a permanent residence. The next object was to get rid of my horse, a very handsome and powerful animal; I sold it to Col. Gore, R. A. A few days afterwards, I succeeded in leasing a very large and commodious house on Mountain Hill, the property of Mr. Symes, the father of the late G. B. Symes Esq. I got possession in April, and was soon afterwards joined by my brother, who had succeeded in collecting the debts due to me in Utica, in selling my house there, and settling my affairs generally. I passed my first summer in Quebec without any occurrence of consequence. I paid my expenses by chance practice, and by practice among the shipping.

"In the Autumn, I determined to give a course of lectures and demonstration on Anatomy, and to open a room for its practice. I commenced in the cellar of my house on Mountain Hill, when Dr. Painchaud, the leading French practitioner, called upon me, and offered to give me, and to heat, a small building adjoining his residence, as lecture and dissecting rooms, on condition that I gave to him and to his son, free admission. I very gladly accepted this timely offer, and used it for many years. Some time afterwards, a circumstance occurred, which although trivial in itself, was the means of bringing me under the notice of the profession. One morning, I met Dr. Morrin,

who told me that an important operation was about to be performed at the Hotel Dieu Hospital, and, as I was fond of surgery, that I might like to witness it. He said that the operation was to be performed at 10 o'clock, that he would meet me there, and introduce me. I was there punctually, but not Dr. Morrin; several medical men were present. When the patient was brought into the room, he presented an arm, which had been crushed in a threshing machine, from the fingers to nearly the shoulder. There was a good deal of handling and discussion as to the means of arresting the bleeding, there being hardly space for a tourniquet. As I was a stranger to all present, I did not like to give an opinion unasked; at length I said to Dr. Hall, the operator, that I thought the best mode would be to remove the arm at the shoulder joint, there would then be a better stump, and no danger of it projecting, under the action of the deltoid muscle. Dr. Parant, one of the gentlemen present turned sharply round to me, and exclaimed, 'Who are you, and what do you know about it.' I replied that it was an operation which I had already performed, and if the gentleman would accept of my assistance, I would secure the patient from any risk of hemorrhage. Dr. Hall was delighted at the idea. I said to him, 'If you raise a flap of the deltoid, I will secure the articular arteries, you can then open the joint, and separate the head of the humerus from its attachments, while I make pressure on the axillary artery.' Dr. Hall adopted the mode of operation, and performed it remarkably well. The patient recovered without the occurrence of any bad symptom.

"The first years of my life in Quebec, were years of unalloyed happiness and prosperity.

"During the winter of 1828-9, I suffered from an attack of typhus fever, in its most malignant form, and only escaped death at the last hour, by the intervention of Dr. Bone, the Chief of the Army Medical Department. My severe and protracted illness, caused the loss of my beloved wife, whose unremitting care and watchfulness undermined a constitution not naturally strong, and induced disease of the lungs, which terminated her existence.

"My medical and surgical practice at this time, had become extensive and remunerative. My operations on club-feet and for the cure of squinting, had brought me into some notice, when the reports of the appearance of Asiatic Cholera in Europe, and its ravages in Sunderland, caused much speculation and some alarm in Canada. The British Government wrote to the Governour General in Quebec, notifying him of its existence and spread in England, and recommending him to adopt such precautionary or other measures as might be deemed necessary. The matter was placed in the hands of Dr. Skey, the Inspector of Military Hospitals in Canada, to report on, or to suggest what action, if any, should be taken. In the meanwhile, I had taken the alarm, and adopted measures for the protection of my own family. At length, Dr. Skey thought fit to call a meeting of Medical men, of magistrates, and of the principal citizens. He addressed them at length, saying, that no danger was to be apprehended from the cholera which could not cross the Atlantic, but, they would

improve the occasion by cleaning the streets, the yards, and abating sundry nuisances. I listened attentively to these remarks, and requesting to be heard, I said that I thought it probable that the cholera would come to Quebec. Dr. Skey exclaimed, 'Are you so foolish as to think that the cholera can cross the Atlantic?' I replied, 'I am foolish enough to think so.' I then said that returning from India, cholera had broken out on the ship on the tenth day after leaving Saugor Island, that the last case had occurred on the tenth day after its first appearance on board, and that ten days more, would allow it to be transplanted in America. I said, 'I am so convinced that the cholera will cross the Atlantic, that I have engaged the cabin of Capt. N. Allard's schooner to convey my wife and family to a remote point in Gaspé, as soon as navigation opens. These remarks were like the bursting of a bomb shell on the meeting; Dr. Skey, who was a thorough English gentleman of the old school, again addressed it, saying, that he thought it should be the duty of the Government, and of the civic authorities, to take the necessary precautionary measures, to meet the pestilence, in case it should cross the ocean, although he still thought it more than doubtful.

"About the middle of April in 1832, and before the opening of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, I saw a case of blue cholera in a labouring man, residing in Diamond Harbour. Early in May, and before the opening of the navigation, I saw two other cases in the same neighbourhood, but not in the same house; I called my friends Drs. Morrin and Rowley

to visit them, they were sceptical, but confessed that they had never seen similar symptoms before. All three of these cases died. I was fully convinced that their cases were of the true Asiatic cholera, such as I had witnessed in India.

"The citizens of Quebec, who woke up on the morning of the 8th. June, found the Upper town, the Lower town, and the different suburbs, dotted with the bodies of the dead and dying. It would require the pen of Defoe to describe the awful sights and scenes of death, sin, and misery which I witnessed during that awful visitation of the cholera in Quebec. Quebec and its suburbs, about that time, contained about 30,000 inhabitants; the mortality was between 1 and 4,000. Many however, out of this number, were seamen and immigrants.

"It is a curious, but, I believe a well established fact, that in visitations of the plague, cholera, and other widespread scenes of desolation; misery and death; crime, debauchery and recklessness of life, have prevailed in proportion to the amount of death and suffering. This certainly was the case in Quebec, during the cholera of the year 1832.

"The discussions with the Board of Health, and my so strongly expressed convictions, during the winter, that the Asiatic cholera would assuredly visit Quebec, induced many persons to believe, when it did come, that I having had experience of the disease in India, knew more about it, and its treatment, than any one else in the City. This impression led to my temporary, and in very many cases, to my permanent medical connexion with many of the first

families in Quebec. I was therefore so constantly occupied, that during the season I rarely, if ever, had an undisturbed night's rest. I was greatly assisted by a younger brother, Richard, who had come out from Scotland to replace my brother George, he having taken office at the Quarantine station at Grosse Isle.

"It is a fact which I have heard confirmed by medical men, that, when mind or body, or both, are exhausted by long continued strain upon their energies, that their tone is more quickly restored by engaging in some occupation or amusement, sometimes quite foreign to the usual habits of the individual. I was always passionately fond of trout fishing, and frequently indulged myself with an afternoon's sport in the Montmorencie river. One afternoon, during the height of the cholera, my friend, Dr. Caldwell came into my house, and finding me lying down, utterly exhausted and worn out, said, that he was going to the river with Mr. Rogers, and that I must go with them; I exclaimed, 'What, go fishing with the town in its present state, I could not think of such a thing.' He replied, 'Why what use are you to the town, you are regularly done up.' I went with them and returned able to resume my work.

"Frequently afterwards, when worn out with mental exertion and the want of sleep, I have started off to the river, and leaving my horse and cart at La-motte's, have luxuriated in a couple of hours of wading and trout fishing at the Sable, Three Falls, or the Prairie. This change invariably, completely and at once, restored my energies both of mind and body. At

this time, the time of which I write, now more than forty years ago, there was only an Indian trail through the woods beyond Lamotte's, and anglers from town, rarely went higher than La Prairie. The best pools and rapids had been named by the Indians, Falbosse, Canoe, Grande Roche, Petite Roche, Grand Pêche, etc., etc. The trout were very fine, their size and game qualities would have delighted old Isaac Walton. Alas, all this has passed away like a dream or like a tale that is told; there is now, along the banks of the river, a capital road, leading to an Irish settlement named Laval, situated above the upper fishing grounds of former days, and instead of taking a basket of trout, weighing from half a pound to four, and occasionally to six pounds each, the angler does well or thinks he does well, if he takes a dozen fish, the largest of which does not exceed one quarter of a pound in weight." One has only to go fifteen miles above Laval to get as good fishing as my father got 70 years ago. "Snipe, forty and fifty years ago were plentiful on the beaches near Quebec; a very good bag could always be made up at St. Pierre on the Island, or on the beach at Chateau Richer.

"After the great amount of sickness and death from the cholera, which prevailed in Canada during the summer and Autumn of 1832, and which seemed to have carried off among its 3,200 victims all those sickly or prone to disease, the following winter season was an unusually healthy one, and found me with an intense desire to repair the damage which both my mental and physical powers had received from the drain upon them, during the previous summer and autumn.

"I thought that perhaps the best mode, or the mode best suited to my natural tastes, would be to throw physic to the dogs for a few days and explore the virgin forests, among the hills to the North of Quebec. The Huron tribe of Indians had their village, named Lorette, about seven miles from Quebec, some of their hunters had found a yard, or, as they called it a 'ravage' of moose deer, in the forest, about 50 miles to the North of Quebec. I agreed to accompany them to the hunt as soon as the snow was sufficiently deep, and the usual crust had been formed on its surface. This crust is formed by a two or three days thaw, and subsequent frost, which makes progress very pleasant and easy to the hunter, but very difficult and unpleasant to the moose, as the crust, through which it breaks, impedes its progress, but enables the hunter on his snow shoes to overtake it in a couple of hours, more or less, according to the depth of the snow, and the thickness or thinness of the crust. The depth of snow in the woods, to the North of Quebec, may be considered to be five or six feet, in the end of February. I speak now of fifty years ago, since then, the depth of snow has sensibly diminished.

"The band or family of moose, consisting of the male and female, with generally, two young ones, respectively of the ages of one and two years, takes up its winter quarters, or makes its 'ravage,' on the southerly side of some low hill covered by hardwood trees, the outer bark of these trees being the only food during the winter. This, from the high condition of the animals, seems to be amply sufficient

for their wants. During the Spring and Summer, their supply of food is most abundant, as well from the bark, as from the young wood and the leaves of the trees. There is no grass, and even if there were, the short neck, the long legs, and the great height of the moose deer, would prevent his reaching it. At all seasons, a full grown male moose, is a magnificent specimen of the deer tribe, particularly so, during the Summer and Autumn months. His horns are pal-mated, and of great size. I possessed a pair, which including the frontal bone, had a spread of upwards of six feet. I gave them to Captain Vansittart of the Coldstream Guards, and have not been able to re-place them by a pair measuring more than 4 ft. 8 in. These I still keep.

“The flesh of the moose in tenderness, in delicacy of flavour and in juiciness, excels that of any of the deer tribe with which I am acquainted, and I have eaten venison in all quarters of the globe. During the winters in Canada, I was always kept abundantly supplied by my friends, the Indians of Lorette.

“In February I started with a party of four In-dians; and after a drive in country sleighs of about thirty miles, we arrived at a small deserted log hut, on the edge of the primeval forest, where we passed the night. Early in the morning, we started on our snowshoes, in Indian fyle, two of the Indians drag-ging long narrow sledges, called toboggans, on which we carried our provisions, our cooking utensils, our blankets, and some steel traps for catching beaver. We were accompanied by two small yelping, and very ugly cur dogs.

"Late in the afternoon, we arrived within a couple of miles of the moose, but sufficiently distant to avoid alarming them, where, choosing a snug sheltered spot, the Indians collected a quantity of light dry wood, made a roaring fire, preparations for tea and a substantial repast. They then erected a camp, thatched and carpeted it with spruce boughs, shortly had everything ready for a good supper and a good night's rest, both of which I enjoyed, as I had seldom done before. The next morning we breakfasted at daylight, and taking only our guns and some biscuit, we started for the ravage so as to be able to run down the moose before the sun had got high enough to soften the light crust on the snow. After a walk of less than an hour, we arrived at their yard, they however had taken the alarm and made off. We followed their track, which we had no difficulty in doing, as it was only one deep furrow in the snow, very narrow at the bottom, and three feet wide, or nearly so, at the top. Now and then, we could hear the barking of the little dogs, and could see where the moose had occasionally turned round to attack them. After less than an hour's hard running, we came up to them, they were quite exhausted and helpless from the enormous muscular exertions required to force their bodies through nearly six feet of snow, with the addition of a light crust of ice on its surface. There were four of them, an old bull, a full grown female, and two young ones of different ages. When they were killed, by shooting them, which was a tame piece of work, a good fire was kindled, they were cut up into portable pieces, and two Indians were sent

back for the toboggans, which had been abandoned in the ravage. In the meanwhile, the Indians who had remained cooked and ate, and then cooked and ate again, until I was heartily ashamed of my own poor performances, of which, at any other time, I would have been proud. When the toboggans were brought back, they were laden with the mouffles, the tongues, and with the choicest pieces of the meat, the remainder, with the skins, were buried under the snow, to be removed by the Indians of the village.

"As the Indians knew of the existence of a lodge of beavers in the forest, about two miles to the West of our camp, and as there was still sufficient daylight to set the traps, which we had brought for the purpose, they resolved at my request, to do so at once, and thus enable me to see a Beaver hunt, and save a day's time.

"After a hurried walk of about a couple of miles, we arrived at the great and perfectly level plain and clearing in the forest, where there remained only here and there, a huge hard-wood tree, a maple, destitute of foliage and of bark. This, the Indians told me, was the Beaver's dam, of course at this season, it was covered over with snow.

"The Indians made a large hole through this snow at the upper end of this artificial lake, and sunk three traps similar in construction to an ordinary trap, but, of a size corresponding to the size and quality of game they were intended to hold. Each trap was baited with a piece of maple wood, which is the ordinary, and I believe is the only natural food of the Beaver, and not fish, as is frequently represented in

picture and in story books, and on signs. The next morning, on visiting the three traps, we found a Beaver in each, there were two full grown and a young one. After carefully taking off the skins, which are valuable to the fur-dealer, the choicest parts of the meat were packed, for carriage to the village, where it is considered by the Indians, to be a delicacy. I saved the bony skulls, which, in their structure, and in that of jaws and teeth, are anatomically very curious and interesting to a naturalist. This was my first and my only opportunity of seeing an inhabited Beaver dam, although I have been very many times out after Moose, when the snow was deep enough to render snowshoeing light and easy. The band of Moose, when disturbed in its ravage, frequently separates, each individual taking and keeping a separate track in the same direction, but within sight of each other. This of course, in the deep snow, is attended by very obvious consequences, favourable to the hunter.

“In 1834, cholera again appeared in Quebec, its intensity, in individual cases, was certainly as great as in 1832, and I could perceive no difference in the relative proportions, between the deaths and the recoveries. The whole number of deaths reported in the City, and among the seamen and emigrants, was 1800, which was very little more than one half of the number of deaths in 1832.

“During the few following years, my practice was lucrative, and had increased so much, that I was obliged in a great measure, to abandon the practice of the Coves and shipping. I therefore decided to remove to the Upper Town. At that time, a very good house

in the Place d'Armes, the property of Col. Guky, was to let, but as I was disposed to purchase, I waited upon the Colonel for the purpose. He told me frankly, that he was desirous to sell the house, as he was in want of money, but, that he could not give me a valid title; if however, I would give him a half of the purchase money, he would secure me in possession, and give me a ratification before long. I accepted his terms, which were faithfully carried out by him. I may state here, that since the purchase here mentioned, I have had frequent transactions with Col. Guky involving large amounts of money, and that I have never had cause to doubt his word or good faith.

"In the practice of Surgery, I have witnessed great changes in the past sixty years. Many operations for the removal or the relief of diseases, or of bodily infirmities, are now commonly performed, which were then unknown. The relief from pain, during surgical operations, is still a desideratum. Many modes have been tried, with but indifferent success; some of them are extremely uncertain in their effects, while others are unsafe, or are positively dangerous.

"Mesmerism, or Animal Magnetism, for some time was in vogue. It was apparently perfectly safe, and free from any ill effects; its employment however, was extremely uncertain; few persons possessed sufficient power to render it always available, and, even, when one was found, who possessed the required power, the patient frequently could not be brought

or kept under its influence. For these reasons it fell into disuse.

“One of the first cases in which I saw it tried, was eminently successful. Dr. Marsden possessed considerable mesmeric power, and assisted me, by exercising it during the performance of an operation which was for the excision of the half of the lower jaw bone. The patient was a powerful, a strong minded, and a sensible man, about fifty years of age. Dr. Marsden mesmerised him thoroughly, while I removed the diseased bone, an operation, which from its peculiar nature, occupied a much longer time in its performance, than an amputation of a limb. After the wound was dressed, the patient described his feelings during the operation, he said that he felt no pain, that he was fully aware of my dividing the soft parts, and that he distinctly heard the sawing across of the bone. There were several medical men present, who, as well as I, were delighted at the success of Dr. Marsden's mesmeric influence in obviating all sensations of pain during so tedious and painful an operation. We saw visions and dreamt dreams of doing away entirely with the painful scenes, so often witnessed during surgical operations, particularly in the cases of females.

“A few days afterwards, I had again an opportunity of testing the power of Magnetism. The case was that of a young lady, with a fistula lacrymalis. The operation for its cure, was comparatively a painless one. Dr. Marsden mesmerized the lady again and again, as soon however, as I approached her, she woke up in an extremely nervous and excited state, I

was consequently obliged to perform the operation, without mesmeric assistance. When the patient had retired, there were differences of opinion expressed, as to the causes of the failure. One opinion was, the vicinity of the eye to the sensorium. Dr. Marsdon thought the cause was the peculiar nervous state of the patient. He said, that the day before he had mesmerised a young woman, whom no one could awake without his concurrence; doubts being expressed, he then and there went and brought her. He mesmerised her, so that she could not be aroused by ordinary means, but as an argumentum crucis, although there was nothing the matter with her eye, I passed the probe into the punctum, through the duct, and withdrew it through the nostril, without producing in her any sign of sensation. Other modes of removing or alleviating the pain, during surgical operation have been adopted from time to time, none however so free from objection as mesmerism. I have fully and faithfully tried them. Chloroform had its day, and was, and is yet highly extolled. I gave it a fair and extended trial, under various circumstances and conditions of age, sex and disease. Its effects in doing away intirely, or, in a great degree with the pain during surgical operations, and painful maladies, and even in painful natural processes, were greatly extolled. I was fortunate in never meeting with a case in which its use was followed by immediate fatal effects, but, I became impressed with the conviction, that its employment during surgical operations was followed by deterioration of the system, evinced by the appearance and condition of the wounds

after operation. To solve the question, I instituted a series of comparisons in surgical cases, which were as nearly similar to each other, as possible. I placed repeatedly two patients after operation, in the same ward, and in the healing of the wounds or stumps, as well as in the general state and condition of the patients, I perceived a marked difference in favour of those who had not been subjected to the action of the chloroform.

"In 18— I was asked by Hammond Gowan Esqr. and Dr. Morrin, who were the Commissioners for the Marine and Emigrant Hospital to take the Medical charge of the establishment. Dr. Hall had died, the steward had died, the apothecary had been removed by severe illness, and the house-surgeon was then suffering from an attack of delirium tremens. I hesitated on account of the demoralized state of the Hospital; my hesitation was met by a promise to give me the intire control of the interne of the establishment. I agreed to accept, on condition of having a colleague, with whom I offered to divide the salary. This was acceded to, and the Governour-General, Lord Gosford, appointed Dr. C. Fremont, a young gentleman who had lately settled in the City, and who was an intire stranger to me. I refused to accept, unless with a Medical Man of my own standing in the profession. Lord Gosford then appointed Dr. Painchaud, the oldest practitioner in the City, with whom I worked many years. To avoid misconception, I thought it proper to call upon Dr. Fremont and explain my reasons for preferring a medical colleague of older standing. He told me frankly, that the ap-

pointment was owing to the intimate relations, between his friends, the Messrs. Pemberton, and Lord Gosford. From that time, until his death, my connection with Dr. Fremont was most intimate. I found him to be an honest, an upright, and a high-minded gentleman, and with a thorough knowledge of his profession. As an assistant in surgical operations, he was of the greatest use to me for many years, as well in hospital, as in private practice.

"On taking charge of the Hospital, Dr. Painchaud and I divided the duties. I took charge of the intire surgical cases, and of one half of the fever and other wards, Dr. P. took the remainder. At this time, and for many years afterwards, the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, as a school of practical surgery, was second to none on this continent. Several circumstances tended to make it so. There was a large fleet engaged in the timber trade, the ships were comparatively small, seldom exceeding 500 tons; they were loaded by the seamen, and by the hired emigrants directed by and superintended by a stevedore. There was no steam, and none of the modern appliances for hoisting in, and stowing away, the heavy timber, which was almost the only cargo then shipped. The consequences were, that great numbers of fractures were admitted into Hospital, as well as many which had occurred in the crowded emigrant ships, during the Spring passage out.

"In the Summer season of 1849, cholera again invaded Quebec; its ravages however were not so great as on its visitations in 1832 and 1834, and its comparative mortality in individual cases, was somewhat less.

The popular idea being that it was intensely contagious, particularly after death, no time sometimes was lost, in hurrying on the interment; to facilitate this, the coffin was sometimes procured, and I have reason to believe, was utilized before death. I have heard of patients recovering, after having been confined, though I never witnessed a case. I have however more than once, seen the coffin laid out in the room, and alongside of the patient's bed, before death. I recollect one very marked, and very absurd case; a young lady, whose father was in a Government Office, was very ill, I had left her in the blue stage, and pulseless, when I returned and entered the room, perceiving a mounted coffin on a table, I was about to withdraw, when the father called out, 'Come in, come in, I don't think she is any worse.' The young lady is now a grandmother.

"I recollect a more absurd instance, which occurred during a later visitation of the cholera to Quebec. Mr. Swords had leased extensive buildings in St. Louis Street, as an hotel, they were opened in the Fall, to receive a party of excursionists from New York. On the night of the arrival of the excursionists, three of them took ill with cholera, of whom two died before morning. About daybreak, I was called to visit the third case. On leaving my house, I found a number of the lady and gentlemen excursionists, sitting upon my door steps, they had rushed out of Sword's Hotel, and did not know where to go. On reaching the hotel, I found that all the guests, and most of the servants had abandoned it. The patient was Mr. Benedict, a Jeweller of New York.

He was in a very precarious state, and already in the blue stage of the disease. Mr. Swords also was in a blue stage of rage, although collapse in him, did not come on until some days afterwards. He insisted upon Mr. Benedict's immediate removal; he threatened to put him out into the street, I told him and if he did so, and Mr. Benedict died, I would call an inquest on his body, and obtain a verdict of manslaughter. I got a very good nurse; Mr. B. rallied, and in two or three days afterwards, was carried on a litter to the house of that honest kind hearted soul, Mr. Robert Symes, in Palace Street, where he perfectly recovered. On being removed from Mr. Swords, Mr. B. asked me to settle his bill. Among a number of usual and unusual items, was the extremely unusual one for the payment of a coffin, which Mr. Swords had purchased for Mr. Benedict's use. I very decidedly objected to pay for this item, on the plea that Mr. B. had not ordered the coffin, and that moreover, when ordered, he had very decidedly declined to use it. To this argument Mr. Swords replied, that he did not require a coffin for his own use, that he had procured it for Mr. Benedict's use, and insisted upon being paid for it. I proposed that the coffin should be kept for the use of which ever of them should require it first. Now although I am convinced that even Judge Andrew Stuart could not give a clearer or more righteous judgment, or at any rate a more unbiased one, Mr. Swords was not satisfied, but still insisted upon being paid for it. I at last convinced him by saying, that I would publish his little bill in every paper in the Union, and

make him so famous, that no traveller would in future visit Quebec, without at least looking at the outside of his hotel.

"In the practice of Medical Men, cases occur where their duty as citizens, and the confidence reposed in them by their patients, are strongly antagonistic. For instance, cases of wilful murder, cases of assault with murderous intent, cases of poisoning, and other criminal acts, occasionally come to their knowledge, when for want of suspicion, or of proof, the perpetrators go unwhipt of justice. Cases occur, in which, knowing all the facts and the circumstances, the Medical Man is tempted to constitute himself the judge in the matter. For instance, one fine afternoon in summer, a very respectable tradesman came to me in great agitation, with a request that I would visit his wife, who was seriously hurt. He frankly told me, that on returning to his house, he had found her standing in the recess of an attic window, quite drunk, and had given her a slap on the face, which had caused her to fall out of the window. On arriving at his house, I found her dead. The verdict of the Coroner's Court, if the Jurors had a knowledge of the facts, would entail a verdict of manslaughter, and the incarceration of the husband in the common prison until the Session of the Criminal Court in October, when the result of the trial would be doubtful. I advised him to go at once to Mr. Panet the coroner as sent by me, and to let me know when the inquest would be held, so that I might be out of the way. He might then trust to the evidence of the neigh-

hours, and to his own good character. A verdict of accidental death was rendered.

"As a case of circumstantial death evidence, that of Dr. Dill was a very strong one. He came from Scotland to Quebec, as the Master of the School in connection with St. Andrew's Church. After being inducted, he informed the Revd. Dr. Cook, that he was a medical man, and desirous to practice at his spare time, and for that purpose required a license. Dr. Cook introduced him to me, for the purpose of getting information on the matter. Dr. Dill was a tall and very good looking man, but his manner impressed me unfavourably. I told him to call upon me the next day, which he did, and conversation with him convinced me that he knew nothing whatever of medicine, and that the diploma which he produced had not been obtained by him, through any proof of his knowledge of medicine. I told his friend, Dr. Cook that in my opinion Dr. Dill was insane, and would be likely to be dangerous. He got a license, he took a house, fitted up an office, and married a very respectable young lady with some property. One midnight, on passing, I found his house on fire. The doctor, with a number of people, was in the street; he informed me that he and Mrs. Dill were in bed when they were awakened by the smoke, that Mrs. Dill had retired to dress, and he supposed had gone to her friends. The Doctor was quite cool and collected, he was fully dressed, even to the pin in his shirt front. The house was burnt to the ground, nothing was saved, and Mrs. Dill was missing. Her remains were found on the crown of a brick vault in the basement of the

house, consequently, the back of her body was not touched by the fire. The coloured silk dress, the laced stays, and the underclothing were found, as worn on the previous day, the brooch and the finger rings had not been taken off, proving that the poor lady had not been in bed. The verdict of the Coroner's Court, endorsed Dr. Dill's account of the night's work, with its monstrous discrepancies, and he was paid his insurances.

"The murdered lady's brother in law, D. Mc Gie Esq. was not satisfied. He branded Dr. Dill openly as a murderer and an incendiary. The Doctor did not seem to notice these charges, his friends however insisted upon his clearing himself by bringing an action against Mr. Mc Gie, for defamation of character and for damages. The action was brought before Sir James Stuart; the jury awarded homeopathic damages, and Sir James expressed his opinion by refusing to Dr. Dill his costs. This verdict induced Dr. Dill to quit Quebec. The next heard of him, was a sentence of imprisonment for life, in the Penitentiary at Kingston, U. C., for the commission of a murder. There, he was placed to work in the Machine Shop, and after a few years, by the exercise of wonderful engineering ingenuity and contrivance, by manipulating the locks and using the machinery belting as a ladder, he managed to escape to the United States, where he was safe. His insanity however, induced him to return to Canada in search of a situation as a school-master; he was recognized, and sent back to the Penitentiary, to end his days there, which he did, some

years afterwards. He was conspicuous by a heavy iron weight and chain, fastened to his ankle.

"Merely circumstantial evidence is sometimes very strong, and has undoubtedly been the means of hanging many innocent persons. During my life, I have witnessed different cases, in my own practice, which might have involved serious consequences.

"A gentleman of high literary attainments, and of good position in society was subject to fits of ungovernable passion on very slight causes. His wife was a most amiable person. On one occasion, after a very noisy and violent altercation, of which the servant was a witness, he retired to a separate apartment. During the night, his wife hearing him breathing heavily, entered his room, and was horrified on finding him insensible, and apparently dying. She at once roused the servant, but without explaining her reason, sent her for me. When the girl had left the house, she placed the lighted candle near the bed, and while endeavouring to raise her husband's head, ignited the bed curtains, which were instantly in a blaze. With great presence of mind, she succeeded in extinguishing the flames. On my arrival, I found upon the dressing table, an empty phial, which had contained laudanum. Had she not torn down the curtains and succeeded in putting out the flames she could never have relieved herself of the suspicion of having murdered her husband, and of having sent the servant out of the house on a false errand, while she set fire to the house, to cover up the crime.

"During the session of the Court of Queen's bench, in the spring of 1845, the grand jurors made a very

strong presentment on the treatment of the insane. During the French dominion in Canada and since its conquest by the British the insane had been exclusively in the charge of the nuns, or the religious ladies, as they are commonly called. Some members of the Government, speaking to me on the subject, I said, that I had never seen the interior of the convents, but I thought that their inmates, particularly the insane, would be benefited by the disuse of the confinement, and of such severe treatment. Attempts to provide a suitable place for them, having failed, I agreed to take charge of them for a period of three years on an understanding that the Government would then have a suitable place provided for them.

"I at once leased Darnoe, the property of Col. Gagy, and commenced to put it in order. I asked Dr. Morrin to join me in the undertaking, but he absolutely refused. I then took my friend Dr. Fremont as a partner, engaging to stand between him and any pecuniary loss should there be any such. After the establishment was in good working order, Dr. Morrin, who had taken much interest in it, proposed to join us, and induced Dr. Fremont to divide his share with him. This arrangement continued until the bonds which united us in the management of the institution were severed by their deaths. After this brief statement of the origin of the Quebec Lunatic Asylum, and of my peculiar connection with it, I cannot do better than give a copy of our report to the Government at the end of the three years.

“The close of the navigation of the year 1846 was very disastrous to the shipping in the St. Lawrence. Two or three of the last ships leaving Quebec were met in the Gulf by a heavy easterly snow storm, and were driven and totally wrecked on the north shore, where there were neither inhabitants nor shelter. There was great loss of life and several of the crews were more or less frozen, before being able to shelter themselves. Fearing what might occur and had actually occurred, the Canadian Government sent down a small steamer to the relief of any of the crews who might have escaped. Many were found and among them several with frozen extremities, who were placed in the Hospital. The number and the variety of the operations required brought together a strong muster of medical men and students. Three of the operations in particular, named after the celebrated French surgeon Chopart, and strongly recommended by my old preceptors, Liston and Syme, of Edinburgh. After operating on several of the sailors with frozen legs, I was about to amputate a thigh, when imagining that the point of my catlin was not very fine, I held it up to the light and felt it with the point of my finger. I found it sharp enough and proceeded with my operations. After all were finished, I washed my hands and felt a slight tingling on the point of my finger, where I had touched the Catlin. I found that I had raised the cuticle, without, however, drawing blood. I very foolishly sucked the wound and squeezed out of it a drop of blood as big as a pin's head. During the day the tingling continued without intermission. The

next day it had increased considerably, my finger was becoming exquisitely painful, and the absorbents in the whole length of the arm were inflamed and inflammation of the mouth and throat had supervened, caused, I have no doubt, by the contact of the poison when I sucked the wound. These symptoms increased with severe general spasms and deterioration of the whole system, which reduced me to a skeleton, and to death's door. I recovered, after some weeks, with the loss of my sense of smell, with a great loss of my sense of taste, with a shrunken forefinger and with the prospect of a shortened life. It is a curious fact that the patients on whom I had operated, including the one who had furnished the virulent animal poison, with which I had been inoculated, all did well, without appearance of any bad or untoward symptom among them.

"After my recovery, feeling unable to meet the demands of my practice, I took as a partner Dr. Racey, who, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, was of high professional attainments, and of most amiable character. During the following winter and spring the accounts of the ravages of the fever in Ireland, the prospects of a very greatly increased immigration, and in my opinion, the certainty of a great amount of cases of typhus, among both the cabin and the steerage passengers, induced us to establish a private hospital for the treatment of masters of vessels and of cabin passengers, who would object to go into crowded public hospitals, and who would be refused admission into private houses. We accordingly leased a large house on the Beauport

beach, and awaited the arrival of the shipping. Our prognostics were fully verified; the vessels arrived, crowded with cases of typhus. The hospitals and the temporary sheds, both at Grosse Isle and at Quebec were inadequate for the admission of the seamen and emigrants, and, as might have been expected, hotels and private houses very prudently refused to receive cases of virulent contagious fever.

"Our private hospital was very soon found to be too small, and we leased the large and commodious dwelling house and premises connected with the old breweries at Beauport. In these two private hospitals we admitted and treated during the summer, one hundred and sixty-five cases of typhus fever, of whom four died, three of them from the immediate effects of the fever, and one from paralysis, after recovering from the danger of the fever. Our fees and charges were four dollars per diem; these included all expenses of medical treatment, medicines, nursing, etc. Our treatment was extremely simple. On admission the patient was placed in a tepid bath, in which he was thoroughly shampooed and scrubbed with soap and a coarse towel, clean sheets and body linen, very frequently changed; thorough ventilation, diluent drinks; a staff of excellent nurses, and occasionally medicine, were our modes of treatment. We were very sparing in the use of drugs, for although we were not homeopaths, we decidedly preferred administering them, when necessary, with a teaspoonful instead of a shovel.

"It would be folly in me to state that in establishing this hospital, Dr. Racey and I were not mainly

influenced by pecuniary views and profits. These certainly were our first considerations, but at the same time we were desirous to shew practically that typhus fever in its worst forms, could be deprived of a great part of its malignancy and terrors. We fully succeeded in both of these views.

"At this time the British government, being aware of the fearful ravages of the typhus fever among the seamen and immigrants on their passage to Canada, had sent out Col. Calvert, an old and distinguished military officer, who had placed in his charge a Monsieur L——, a French chemist, the discoverer and patentee of a reputed wonderful disinfectant, which was said to have the effect of purifying the atmosphere of a fever ward, and doing away with the danger of infection from all and sundry diseases of an infectious or contagious nature. M. L—— fully tested his specific in the wards of the Marine Hospital. It certainly had the effect of doing away with the close and disagreeable smells which had prevailed in the wards and closets, but its active ingredient being a solution of nitrate of lead, its inhalation, in my opinion, had an injurious effect on the patients. For this reason I was averse to its use in the Beauport hospitals.

"Dr. Racey took ill with typhus fever, but apparently not of a virulent type. He was most assiduously attended by Col. Calvert and Mons. L——, whose solution was very liberally used. It was sprinkled on the floor and bedding and cloths wetted with it were kept constantly applied to the head and chest. It was in vain that his friends and I argued

against its so liberal use, especially in his own particular case, lying, as he did, in a large, airy and well ventilated apartment. He was obdurate and would listen to no argument or representation. I am convinced that he used it as a prophylactic and disinfectant, solely with a view to the protection of his family from the contagion of the fever. He was to me an irreparable loss. He was a most efficient and valuable partner. He possessed a thorough knowledge of medicine, of anatomy and of surgery. He was a skilful operating surgeon, and had he not been removed by death, would have secured a high position in the profession. His loss to his family and to his friends was irreparable.

“The next, and about the last prominent victim of this foul distemper, was Col. Calvert himself. I was called to him in the preliminary stage of the disease, and as he could not be permitted to remain in the Hotel, I had him removed to my own house, and placed in the care of a faithful and excellent nurse. Col. Calvert was a tall, handsome, military looking gentleman, apparently about seventy years of age. He was, and evidently had been, a free liver, though by no means intemperate in his habits. He was fully aware of his imminent danger, and met it coolly and manfully. He must naturally have possessed great presence of mind, even when he was ‘in extremis,’ he gave me an extraordinary proof of this quality. In the last stage of the disease, when semi-conscious, and apparently *quite* unconscious, Mons. L—— entered his room, and perceiving his state and condition, he sent the nurse down stairs, on some

pretence, and then rifled his pockets and his valise. This roused up Col. Calvert, who watched the proceeding without making any sign, or evincing any symptom of consciousness. On my visiting him shortly afterwards, he managed to tell me the circumstances, and soon lapsed into total insensibility, from which he never emerged. In the meanwhile, I had sent for L—— and charged him with the robbery; he of course stoutly denied it until I was fully prepared with proof of the act by a witness to the transaction, and if he did not at once restore the stolen money, I would expose him to the consequences. I told him that his theft, if not detected, would have exposed my servants to the gravest suspicions, which it would have been impossible for them to explain or to remove. Monsieur L—— restored the stolen money, and he took my advice to visit the United States with as little delay as was possible. I told him that I would state the facts to the Government and to Col. Calvert's friends, and he might explain them as well as he was able. Thus ended the episode of the famous disinfecting fluid, of which I have never since heard anything.

“Col. Calvert's death led to the establishment of the Mount Hermon Cemetary. He was interred in the Protestant burying ground in St. John's Suburbs, This was small and excessively crowded. A great part of it had been covered by huge stone slabs, a great part was enclosed as private lots, and the remainder was crowded by the deposit of the Protestant dead since the Conquest of the Province, and notably during the visitations of the Cholera and of

the fever. Before removing Col. Calvert's remains to the burying ground, I called upon that zealous and faithful servant of the church, Mr. John Ricaby, anent the grave; he pointed it out to me, and he told me that he had been obliged to disturb the remains of two bodies, one of them that of an unknown man, and the other, that of a Colonel Impey. He pointed out the remains under a small pile of earth. Some time afterwards, in conversation with Mr. Jeffry Hale, I mentioned the disgracefully crowded state of the burying ground, and told him what I had seen. This conversation led to others, in which that energetic and sincere friend, Mr. Hale, Mr. C. Wurtele, and some other friends joined, and led to the establishment of the Mount Hermon Cemetery.

"Twenty-five years and more have passed away since this memorable fever harvested its victims. A few, and only a very few, of the medical men yet remain who witnessed its horrors, and the scenes of desolation, of misery, of death and of distress, caused by its ravages. Although in impaired health at the outbreak of the pestilence, and though constantly engaged in attendance upon the sick, with rarely an undisturbed night's rest, I gained health and strength. I attribute this in some, if not in a great measure, to my habit of going trout fishing twice a week. I used to leave town about three o'clock in the afternoon, and throwing 'physic to the dogs' I drove to the Montmorenci River; I waded deeply, and fished with the fly, for two or three hours; on returning, I took tea with my family at Glenalla, and then resumed my duties in town.

"During the two following years my health and strength remained tolerably good, until the summer of 1850, when I became troubled with a bronchitic cough, which induced me to leave Canada, and to spend the following winter season in the South of Italy. I accordingly went there, accompanied by my friend, Mr. Gilmore, whose health had become impaired by too close attention to an extensive business. We spent the winter in the South of Italy, principally between Naples and Rome and we returned to Canada in the Spring. Mr. Gilmore was perfectly restored to health. As, however, I had not succeeded in getting rid of my cough, I determined to retire altogether from the private practice of my profession, to abandon my town residence, to spend the summer months at Glenalla, and the winter seasons in a warmer climate than that of Lower Canada."

CHAPTER VI

REMINISCENCES OF ONE OF MY FATHER'S OLD STUDENTS

Edward D. Worthington, subsequently the most active and eminent practitioner in the Eastern townships, studied under my father in the Mountain Hill House. He wrote some of his "Reminiscences of Student Life and Practice" for the *Detroit Medical Age*, which were, after his death, collected and published in book form. They are worthy of wider circulation than they secured, not only by reason of the charming conversational style in which they were written, but of the details of old student life and by-gone medical and surgical practice, of which so few descriptions have survived. I have taken the liberty of extracting two quotations, one describing my father's old house, the house in which I was born, on Mountain Hill, now turned into the Mountain Hill Hotel, the other referring to my father's early career and skill as a surgeon:

"When quite a youngster I was indentured before a Notary Public to Dr. James D——s, a very eminent surgeon in the ancient City of Quebec. There being no medical school in the Province at the time, this was the usual custom.

"The Dr. lived on Mountain Hill in a house now used as a Hotel. It was built when the country was under the dominion of France, and a remarkable house it was—and probably is to this day. It was built on the slope of a steep and tortuous hill, and built apparently to last forever. The foundations had been laid at the foot of the slope, on Notre Dame St. near the site of the historic Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, and the building was carried up so as to base four stories on Notre Dame St. and two and a basement on Mountain Hill: the house thus fronting on two streets each having its distinct and separate entrance, one shut off completely from the other.

"The first story on Notre Dame Street consisted of warehouses and wine vaults; the second was a private residence.

"The Mountain Hill side, on the contrary, was not in trades. It was strictly professional.

"The interior of the place was somewhat as follows: Passing through its large drawing-room you saw a splendid circular stair-case which led to a glass covered cupola, and out on a leaded roof, giving a promenade the full length and breadth of the building, and commanding a glorious view, of the Citadel above, the St. Lawrence and St. Charles rivers below, the beautiful Island of Orleans, the Falls of Montmorenci and the distant Laurentian Mountains, with the lovely slopes of the beautiful shores from Ancienne Lorette to L'Ange Gardien. At the foot of this circular stairway stood a huge stuffed moose, with immense horns, a trophy of the Doctor's

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skill as a hunter, and nearly every celebrity of the day who visited Quebec called and asked permission to see the moose. Admiral Sir George Cockburn,—it was he to whom was intrusted the charge of conveying Napoleon to St. Helena—Charles Dickens, the Marquis of Waterford, Lord Charles Wellesley, Lord Powerscourt, Count D'Orsay, Sir James Macdonald, the hero of Huguemont, and others too numerous to mention. But all have now gone to the 'spirit land.' Where the moose is, I do not know.

"This stairway was used only in Summer, when the family and their visitors wished to enjoy the grand view from the roof promenade, and it was always a matter of surprise, why the dwellers in Notre Dame St. should have been denied this great privilege. But it was reserved for one of the ghosts of my story to discover, that it had not been always thus. In fact a very narrow private stairway had been made for their benefit, but this being objected to by the 'upper crust' it was closed up, and in time its very existence was completely forgotten.

"Before my time the basement referred to had been used as a dissecting room, but that had been moved to the attic and the dissecting room converted into a kitchen, just for the sake of pleasant associations. The presiding genius in the kitchen, old Kitty, was Irish, a strict Protestant, but when in extreme peril not above crossing herself, and appealing to all the saints on the calendar. She slept in a cupboard-bed in the kitchen, knew what the room had formerly been, and was prepared accordingly. Every mouse was to her a ghost in disguise. 'Why then Master

Edward,' she would say, 'not a night of me life, that they don't come and sit across me legs, and dance on me chest, and then lift me up, bed and all, up, up, untill, my jewel, I think they are going to shut me up entirely! When I wakes wid a scream, and comes down wid a jump, not for worlds,—no—not for me weight in gold, would I stay in this house another day but for the Missus, the darlin'.'

"'Now but Kitty, what did you have for supper?'

"'What did I have for supper, is it? Just a glass of beer and a bit of bread and cheese; sorra a thing else.'

"'Well, Kitty, don't you think it might have been the cheese?'

"'Arrah then, honey, don't you think I am old enough to know the differ between *them* and cheese? The craythurs, they don't ever harm one any way—God be good to them, but they do been cut up in this room, and they likes to come back to it.'

"'I do not wish it to be supposed for one moment, that my familiarity with Kitty is any proof that I had a 'mash' on her. It used to be said in Ireland and perhaps elsewhere 'Whatever you do, keep good friends with the cook.' Kitty was an old maid, she could not help that. Under proper facilities she might have been a Grandmother. She was old enough but she came from the dear owld sod—not far from where I was born, and it was pleasant to hear her talk of owld Ireland, and its fairies and its churches, and round towers, and blarney stones, and how St.

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Patrick banished the snakes from the island and drove them all into the sea.

"The family spent the Summer in the Country, so Kitty and I had the house to ourselves a great part of the time. I am afraid that in spite of my friendship for Kitty, she saw a great many ghosts in those days, but she was very forgiving, and thought it was all done for her own good.

"A day of retribution, however, came at last. That kind of thing is sure to come sooner or later, upon the wicked. I saw a ghost myself and it was in that very kitchen. Smoking was a luxury to be indulged in cautiously in that house. Lucifer and congress matches and phosphorous bottles were unknown. Only the old tinder-box with its flint and steel could in the absence of a fire or a lighted candle, be relied upon to light a cigar.

"One Sunday morning, knowing to a certainty that I was alone in the house, I went down to the kitchen for a light. A man sat on a chair in front of the coal (?) stove, his feet on its hearth, his elbows on his knees and his face in his open palms. I had firmly believed the man-servant to be out, but there sat someone. I passed behind him and coming to his left side, stooped down to open the stove door. He did not move, not one foot, so I said in my blandest tones, looking up at the same time, 'Will you have the goodness to move your foot? I want to open the door.' If I had had my hat on, I would have taken it off, I was so awfully civil. No, he never moved. I repeated my request, without result, so losing patience I pushed the door open

forcibly. It opened back to its hinges, but the feet never moved. *The stove door went right straight through them.*

"I stood up quietly with my eyes fixed steadily on the figure. I had always heard that that was the correct thing to do when attacked by a lion. I had seen it recommended in books of Eastern Travel, but this man never moved. He was worse than a lion and I might be annihilated at any moment. O, for a word from old Kitty. She would have prayed to the Saints for me. I had to act for myself, and I acted quietly, Oh so quietly. I retired backward with my face to the foe—until I reached the foot of the stairs; then, I took about 18 steps in three bounds. Never before was such time made on that stairway.

"This was the first ghost, I may as well call it by that name, as by any other, I had ever seen. I had not been eating cheese, I had not then even tasted beer. I firmly believe to this day that I saw what I have described, and as I have described it, and further deponent saith not.

"If tobacco had never been discovered, or, if parlor matches had been introduced, and I had not been obliged to go to the kitchen for a light, would that 'poor ghost' have been there?

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"I have recently been asked how it was that we had dissecting-rooms in Quebec when we had no medical schools. Why is it that we sometimes have bread when we have no butter? Every medical man in the City who had any practice at all, had a private

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pupil, some had 3 or 4. The student was bound by law to pass an examination, and show a certain amount of anatomical knowledge before he could legally begin the practice of his profession. By 'law' he was bound to dissect, by 'law' he might be punished for dissecting. Strange inconsistency!

"Through the kindness of a friend, I have a list of all the licentiates, of the Provincial Medical Board from the 28th year of the reign of his Majesty George III. Heading that list is the name of 'Henry Leodal 1788,' whose bust is to be seen to this day in the hall of the Montreal General Hospital. Looking down the list, among the crowd of well remembered names are those of Joseph Painchaud 1809 and James Douglas 1826, both of Quebec. The first Medical lectures ever given in Quebec of which I have any knowledge were given by these gentlemen at the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, beginning on the first of May, 1837-38-39.

"The subject of Dr. Painchaud's lectures was, as set forth on the hospital tickets, which I have by me, 'Sur l'art et la Science des Accouchements,' and 'Sur la Theorie et la Pratique de la Medicine.' Those of Dr. Douglas were on 'The principles and practices of Surgery.' These gentlemen constituted the medical staff of the hospital, and the governors or 'commissioners' were Hammond Gowan, Joseph Morrin (afterwards founder of Morrin College) and Joseph Parent. Dr. Painchaud lived opposite the Artillery Barracks, Palace Gate. He used to do most of his visiting in the city on horseback and I have a remembrance of only one horse. It was at least 16

hands high, bay, with a short stub of a tail, which, when the horse was in motion, seemed to act as a propeller, it went round like an 'Archimedes screw.' The horse had evidently been a Military Charger. It was so thoroughly trained. It has often been a great puzzle to me how the Doctor got on the outside of such a high horse, but the horse was equal to the occasion. The Doctor was not above the average height and inclined to be stout. He had a kindly smiling face, and was resplendent in waistcoats, worn almost as loose as a blouse—of purple or bright scarlet silk, and most exquisitely got up shirt frills. Wellington boots he wore with trousers strapped tightly down, silver spurs and chains, and in his 'fob' he carried a heavy bunch of seals. When entering a house he drew the rein over the back of the saddle and allowed the horse to roam at his own sweet will. When he came out he called or blew a small whistle, the horse marched up, got his lump of sugar, wheeled his left side to the sidewalk for the Doctor to mount, and off he went prancing, to the great admiration of the small boys. Dr. Painchaud had for many years the largest French-Canadian practice in Quebec.

"Dr. Douglas lived on Mountain Hill in what is now known as the Mountain Hill House. He was educated in Edinburgh and London. He was the most brilliant operator I ever saw—and I have seen some good men in my time here and in the old country. It was not only that he did his work quickly, but he did it well, and his operations were simply splendid. I remember a poor fellow in the Marine

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and Emigrant Hospital at Quebec, who from frost bite was obliged to have both legs removed just above the knee. It was decided to have the double event come off at the same time, two legs—two operations with the object of saving the patient as much as possible. From the instant the point of the knife entered, till the leg was on the floor was *one minute and forty-two seconds*, in Douglas' case. The vessels were tied and the wound dressed inside of three minutes. The other amputation was not quite finished in half an hour, when some of us had to leave. The case did well. No anesthetic was known in those days. It was sheer pluck on the side of both patient and doctor."

Dr. Worthington mentions my father's relation to, and my father in his autobiography refers to, his connection with the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, but omits the incidents which preceded his resignation as one of the visiting physicians.

The terrible typhus season of 1847-48 created disorganization in the establishment. The visiting physician could only complain to the Commissioners, and, if they did not interfere, report to the Government. This they did, but the complaints were unheeded till 1851-52, when Dr. Neilson and Dr. Macdonnell were appointed to investigate the affairs of the hospital.

From the correspondence elicited by this investigation I take the following extracts from copies of my father's letters to the Provincial Secretary.

"When Dr. Painchaud and I were appointed, we found the hospital in a state of chaos, and the scene

of drunkenness, licentiousness and open robbery.—Through our exertions and the support of the Commissioners it was placed, as Drs. N. & M. allow, in a high position as an asylum for the sick and maimed, and a reputable position as a school of Practical Surgery and Medicine.—It was moreover moral, abstemious and well conducted. What was, however, of far more importance in a Hospital, the average of mortality was less than 3%, and it must be borne in mind that temperance societies then hardly existed, and that the number of fractures and grave injuries exceeded by three hundred per cent the number given in the Commissioner's tables as admitted during the last year."

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Dr. Fremont always assisted him in operating, though Dr. Fremont was not one of the visiting surgeons. One of the witnesses criticized him because—as was claimed—he “slighted and insulted the whole staff of visiting physicians by bringing Dr. Fremont, not connected with the Hospital, to assist at operations.” He replied: “It is perfectly true that not ‘sometimes,’ but always I got Dr. Fremont to assist me in operations as well in Hospital as in private practice. He has invariably assisted me for the last sixteen or seventeen years. I never had other assistance than his. I never use a tourniquet, and in my operations felt unbounded reliance that with his co-operation no unnecessary loss of blood would occur. He knew my ways and mode of operating,—I had no directions to give; there was no noise, confusion or loss of time. I have reason, under God,

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to attribute much of my success in surgical operations to Dr. Fremont's assistance. In one case, in Hospital, but for his promptitude, the patient would have died on the table. There was no time to give directions or explanations; thirty seconds loss of time would have made with the patient all the difference between time and eternity. Had I been aware that on the appointment of the six visiting physicians I would have been deprived of the assistance of Dr. F., I would at once have placed my commission at His Excellency's disposal. My colleagues knew that Dr. F. always had assisted me before their appointment, and only now I hear complaints that he has continued to do so since."

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The investigation revealed considerable personal feeling against him by some of his colleagues in the profession. As he had given up active practice he retained the position of a visiting physician only long enough to relieve himself of the imputation of having retired under fire.

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It was not safe to engage in a contest of wits with my father.

About 1844 there was started in Quebec one of those pestilential blackmailing sheets with which every community is infested. Its name defined its intention—*The Mechanical Spy*. It picked up or manufactured scandals, put them in print, sent the proofs to the victims, and was generally paid for suppressing them. One of my father's students at that time was a clever lad, but somewhat unruly. He was a fa-

avourite, nevertheless. On the first occasion on which my father took me, a very little boy, to fish with him on the Montmorency he took David also. I distinctly recollect that early in the afternoon the lad said he was going down to a deep hole to take a swim. Sunset approached, my father put up his tackle, but David did not appear. My father shouted and searched along the river and in the woods till dark, and on our return sent out our servants to scour the forest. But David was not found. The following afternoon my father returned, and in the river discovered the body, and not very far distant the rod with a large fish dead on the hook. He had evidently hooked a large fish, and, following my father's tactics of trying to kill him in the rapids, had lost his footing. Next week the *Mechanical Spy* came out with the advice to parents who have unruly children to apprentice them to medical men, as they are adepts in the art of killing, hinting likewise that my father had personal motives for ridding himself of his student, and promising further particulars in a subsequent number. My father professed supreme indifference and refused to pay; but instead he hired a literary man of somewhat irregular habits to call on the shoemaker who was supposed to be editor and proprietor of the *Spy*. The agent expressed his unbounded admiration of the motives and matter of the *Spy*, but pointed out some of its literary defects and offered to act as sub-editor on very reasonable terms. The shoemaker editor took the bait and the whole manuscript contents of the editorial office were transferred to my father's consulting

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room. Even he was surprised at the respectable position of many of the men who were the regular purveyors of scandal. One was a lawyer of very good standing at the bar, another a young man being educated for the church. Nothing but the spirit of malice and mischief-making instigated most of the contributions. No other number of the *Mechanical Spy* appeared, and the denouement of "The medical apprentice and the Doctor" was never printed. On the other hand the editor and several of his contributors left town hastily and others received a hint which ever afterward prevented them indulging in such amusements.

He was strongly opposed to the use of alcohol, even in beer, for his insane patients, and what he would not allow himself as an article of food, he punished by dismissal any attendant for indiscreet indulgence in. A neighbor who had a lease of a piece of land which had been bought for the use of the asylum, knowing the stringency of the rules against drinking, attempted to sell his lease dearly by establishing a tavern at the asylum gates. The Dunkin act was then a law, though never enforced, requiring every tavern to close between 8 P. M. on Saturday and till 6 A. M. on Monday. My father applied it most effectually. He employed a dozen reliable witnesses, each to be used in a separate suit, to visit the tavern in the proscribed hours on Sunday. Early in the following week complaint was made and suit commenced. The tavern-keeper and his sons swore the first witnesses out of court, but the judge warned him to be prudent in the future. Another

case was commenced the same day and judgment went against the tavern. A third was immediately instituted, and this was held *in terrorem* over the head of the unfortunate publican. Of course, he capitulated, as Sunday was the only day on which he could hope to do a thriving business. One of the articles of capitulation was that his crop should be bought at a valuation. He appointed his arbiter, a witty Irish farmer. My father named his, a staid old English farmer, a sincerely pious though very simple Methodist. The notarial deed prescribed the appointment of an umpire in case of difference. A wide difference of valuation, of course, existed; but the Irishman naively suggested that there was a speedy way of settling the question, one that was warranted by the authority of Holy Writ, viz., casting lots. His arguments, fortified by texts, were irresistible, and Mr. May, for the first time in his life, tossed a penny. The penny decided against him and he signed the Irishman's award. We read it with utter amazement, and before obeying it learnt from our literal friend how such an extraordinary figure had been arrived at. After hearing we did not, of course, obey the award.

He once lodged a complaint against a carter who was maltreating his horse. When the case came up in court he was summoned as the principal witness. The plaintiff's lawyer, a pert young practitioner, put the usual questions. After eliciting the fact, which every one knew, that the witness was a doctor, he imprudently asked, "Are you a horse doc-

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tor!" "Yes," was the prompt reply, "and an ass doctor—at your service."

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MEDICAL LECTURES

To the Chronicle.

In a recent number of the Chronicle Sir James LeMoine furnishes extracts from "Reminiscences of Student Life and Practice," by the late Dr. Worthington, of Sherbrooke, who says: "The first medical lectures ever given in Quebec, of which I have any knowledge, were given at the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, beginning on the 1st of May, 1837."

On the 31st of August, 1826, the medical profession of this city and neighborhood entertained their countryman and confrere, Dr. Pierre de Salles Laterriere, with a dinner at Mailhot's Hotel, before his return to England. In his address he says: "The rapid improvements which have but lately taken place in the medical profession in Canada, . . . ought to impress on the public, and particularly on our Legislature, the indispensable necessity of some medical school being established among us, where the student might acquire in his native country the knowledge which is the basis of medical science."

This quotation proves that in Quebec medicine was not taught at that time, though at Montreal four medical gentlemen, viz.: Drs. Caldwell, Robertson, Stephenson and Holmes, had, since a few years, been engaged in giving medical lessons with great success. In the Journal de Medicine, January, 1827, vol. II, page 117, I read: "The lectures (in medicine) which are now delivering in the presence of the most distinguished characters, both in and out of the profession, are a striking and gratifying evidence of the liberal dispositions of the medical practitioners in this city.

"There are at present in Quebec two gentlemen delivering lectures on chemistry and one on anatomy and physiology. Drs. F. Blanchet and Douglas are lecturing at the Emigrant Hospital and S. J. Whitelaw at the old Theatre." (Where that was I would like to know.)

Dr. Blanchet was a member of the Legislature and had the credit of being the first Canadian author, although Dr. Pierre de Salles Laterriere had published at Boston, in 1789, a thesis, of which 500 copies were printed. (Gagnon Bibliograph, p. 273.)

Dr. Whitelaw was said to have superior merits as a lecturer.

Of Douglas the editor of the *Journal de Medicine* says: "We do not hesitate to pronounce his introductory lecture the most elaborate history of comparative anatomy which we have ever heard or read."

This *Journal de Medicine* was, I believe, the first medical journal published in Canada. It was printed at Quebec by Francois Lemaitre, at No. 3 Ste. Famille street during 1826, and by the same at No. 4 Notre Dame street, market square, Lower Town, in 1827. It was edited and published by Xavier Tessier, M. D.

It lasted only two years.

MICHAEL JOS. AHERN.

Quebec, August 31, 1900.

CHAPTER VII

MY FATHER'S ILL-HEALTH AND TRAVELS

My father's professional life was made doubly arduous by the hard and fast rules he laid down for himself. His health consequently broke down prematurely. The breakfast hour was six o'clock, and punctuality was rigidly enforced. Though he may have been up nearly all night with a patient, he was at the table at the fatal hour—two hours before daylight in winter time. And the most honoured guest was made to feel uncomfortable if he were late. When in 1849 he decided to give up practice he determined to visit Italy, and in order to prepare himself he engaged an Italian to teach him colloquial Italian. To avoid infringing on his working hours he made poor Simeon trudge through the snow to give him his daily lesson at 5 A. M., an hour before the hateful breakfast. He never slept in his country house, out of reach of his patients, and he never hesitated to rise from a meal in answer to a patient's call. As a medical man he must have known that such a strain on mind and body must inevitably lead to a breakdown. But, having made these laws for himself and his household, he and we had to

live up to them. The six o'clock breakfast was enforced till he left Quebec and lived with me in Phoenixville, Pa., in 1875. But he then fell into a saner and more reasonable schedule of hours for meals and rest without a murmur or any reluctance.

For a short time before retiring from practice he associated with himself Dr. Rowand, but the partnership was not congenial to either party. He was not easily matched in harness, and therefore he may have been convinced that it would be wiser to throw off entirely the toil of professional life than to share it with another. He had just taken a ten-year contract, in association with Dr. Morrin and Dr. Fremont, to care for the provincial insane, and had erected suitable buildings on a property adjacent to his country house on the Beauport Road. He was thus assured of some congenial work. But from 1851 till 1865-66 he spent nine winters abroad, visiting Egypt six times and Palestine thrice.

On the second trip abroad I, a boy of fifteen, accompanied him. After spending a few days in Darlington with his sister, Mrs. Dale, who was caring for their old father, we went to Egypt for a fortnight and passed the rest of the winter in Italy. It was my father's first draught of Nile water and inhalation of Egypt's dry, bracing air. He got a slight foretaste of the delightful, lazy methods of travel in the days before railroads and Cook steamboats, and of the intoxicating blending of the old and new in architecture, government and habits of the people, which Egypt affords beyond any other country even of the Old World. On this first trip we

met Mr. Betts, a railroad contractor, who was building the first link in the railroad from Alexandria to Cape Town—that from Alexandria to Cairo. “Cape Town to Cairo” is a more euphonious alliteration, but Cape Town to Alexandria will be geographically more correct. He introduced us to Mariette Bey, who had just discovered and unearthed the wonderful catacombs of the Bull Apis at Sakkara. We spent a delightful day with M. Mariette, and under his guidance saw the Apis Catacombs and the interesting Ibis mummy pits, which he also recently found and which are wisely now closed to the public. Time did not permit of our slowly ascending to the Cataract by *dahabia*, but my father decided that his next winter abroad should be spent on the Nile.

Consequently in 1854-55 the whole family migrated with him to Egypt—my mother, brother, myself and our cousin, Miss Dale. We ascended to the First Cataract, and on our return made a flying trip to Palestine, by boat to Jaffa and on horseback from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Neither roads nor wheeled vehicles were then known in the Holy Land. The visit to Jerusalem was made notable by two events less commonplace than usually fall to the lot of casual travelers. We were among the first visitors to enter the quarries of Underground Jerusalem, which had just been accidentally discovered; and my father, mother and cousin were fortunately allowed to join the first party of Christians who ever, by permission, crossed the Platform and entered the Mosque of Omar. The first account of the quar-

ries was published in the following letter from my father to the "Athenaeum" of May 3, 1856:

"DISCOVERIES IN JERUSALEM.

"The following notes on ancient quarries in Jerusalem have been placed at the service of our readers through a friend. They were made by a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Douglas:

"During a visit to Jerusalem in the spring of 1855 I became acquainted with a very intelligent Hebrew, who informed me that there were extensive quarries beneath the city, and that there was undoubted evidence that from these quarries the stones employed in the building and rebuilding of the Temple were obtained. He told me that these excavations were accessible through a small opening under the north wall of the city,—that he had descended some time before with two English gentlemen, and had spent with them several hours in exploring the excavations, which were sufficiently extensive to have furnished stones enough, not only for the construction of this Temple, but for the whole of Jerusalem, the walls included. He expressed his readiness to accompany me, but proposed to go after dark, as he feared the Turkish guards might fire upon or maltreat us, if they detected us. As my party comprised two ladies and my two sons, all equally desirous with myself to see these excavations,—as the gates of the city were closed at sunset,—and as there were no houses outside the walls,—I would not listen to the proposal to spend the night in the open air, unless, upon trial, I found we could do no better.

We, accordingly, went to examine the situation and size of the opening. We found it about 150 yards to the eastward of the Damascus Gate. It seemed like the burrow of some wild animal; there was no rubbish above the opening, but some tall grass and weeds. Persons entering might be observed by the guards; but this did not seem very likely, as the soldiers generally remained within the gate, and only very rarely one sauntered outside. We, accordingly, decided to make the attempt by daylight, fully satisfied that, even if observed, we should be only rudely driven away. The next morning, therefore, we left the city as soon as the gates were opened. One of the party got into the hole, but returned, saying, that it would be necessary to get in feet foremost, as there was a perpendicular descent of six or seven feet at the inner opening. He went back again with the lights; I followed. The ladies were got through with considerable difficulty. When fairly inside, we found ourselves in an immense vault, and standing upon the top of a pile which was very evidently formed by the accumulation of the minute particles from the final dressings of the blocks of stone. On descending this pile, we entered, through a large arch, into another vault, equally vast, and separated from the first by enormous pillars. This vault, or quarry, led, by a gradual descent, into another and another, each separated from the other by massive stony partitions, which had been left to give additional strength to the vaulted roofs. In some of the quarries the blocks of stone which had been quarried out lay partly dressed; in some the blocks were still

attached to the rock; in some the workmen had just commenced chiselling; and in some the architect's line was distinct on the smooth face of the wall of the quarry. The mode in which the blocks were got out was similar to that used by the ancient Egyptians, as seen in the sandstone quarries at Hagar Til-silis and in the granite quarries at Syene. The architect first drew the outline of the blocks on the face of the quarry; the workmen then chiselled them out in their whole thickness, separating them entirely from each other, and leaving them attached by their barks only to the solid wall. They were then detached by cutting a passage behind them, which, whilst it separated the blocks, left them roughly dressed, and left the wall prepared for further operations. We remarked the similarity between the stones chiselled out in these quarries and the few blocks of stone built into the south-east corner of the wall of Jerusalem, which are so remarkable for their size, their weather-worn appearance, and the peculiar ornamentation of their edges. We spent between two and three hours in these quarries. Our examinations were, however, chiefly on the side towards the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Our guide stated, that more to the westward was a quarry of the peculiar reddish marble so commonly used as pavement in the streets of Jerusalem. From the place where we entered the descent was gradual; between some of the quarries, however, there were broad flights of steps, cut out of the solid rock. I had no means of judging of the distance between the roofs of the vaults and the streets of the city, except that from the descent the

thickness must be enormous. The size and extent of these excavations fully bore out the opinion that they had yielded stones enough to build not only the Temple, but the whole of Jerusalem.

"The situation of these quarries—the mode by which the stones were got out—and the evidence that the stones were fully prepared and dressed before being removed, may possibly throw light upon the verses of Scripture in which it is said—2 Chronicles, ii. 18—'And he (Solomon) set three-score and ten thousand of them to be bearers of burdens, and fourscore thousand to be hewers in the mountains, and three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people a work.' And again—1 Kings, vi. 7—'And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor ax nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building.'

"In one of the quarries there was a spring of water. A recess in the rock and a shallow trough had been cut for its reception. The water was soft and clear, but somewhat unpleasant to the taste. The expenditure of our candles hastened our departure. We got out as we got in, unobserved. I had not another opportunity of visiting these quarries; but left Jerusalem in hopes that some one more enterprising and more able would explore and give a more detailed and accurate account of these excavations, which to me seemed so abounding in interest."

The editor remarks: "Such is the communication made to us from the reports of Mr. Douglas. Some

of our Correspondents at Jerusalem may possibly be able to tell us more about these interesting quarries."

On the day of the visit to the Mosque of Omar my brothers and I had ridden out to the Pools of Solomon. The rest of the party went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to witness one of the great functions of Holy Week, the Miracle of the Greek Fire.

"After the performance of the Ceremony," my father says, "and while conversing with the Secretary to the French Consulate, he informed me, that in an hour's time, a most unheard of visit was to be made to the Temple area, by the Duke of Brabant, the heir to the throne of Belgium, who, when in Constantinople had received from the Sultan an order on the Pacha to be admitted into the Temple Area. I expressed a doubt, observing, that the Mosque of Omar, built on the site of the Temple of Solomon, was considered by the Moslems so holy, that Jews and Christians had repeatedly been put to death, for merely looking thro' the gates. The Secretary replied, that the Sultan's order on the Pacha was imperative; that His Highness the Duke, with his Confessor the Bishop, and the French Consul were to be admitted into the Temple precincts at four o'clock.

"I at once determined, if it was possible, to go too, and hastening to the Hotel, I placed the Ladies at the outer gate, with strict injunctions not to leave, until my return.

"I went to the French Consul, and requested to be allowed to accompany the Duke's party, but I was

politely, but flatly refused. I then applied to Mr. Finn, the English Consul, he however would hardly listen to me, he said that if the visit was known, there would be an immediate rising of a bigoted populace, and probably a loss of life.

"I hastened back to the Hotel, and took the Ladies with me to the Pacha's palace, where leaving them at the outer gate, I made my way to the Divan, where the Pacha was seated smoking, with two distinguished looking Arabs. There was no interpreter on the spot at the moment, and my knowledge of Arabic was homeopathic; the Pacha however had a few words of Italian, of which he seemed proud to make a display to his visitors.

"I stated my desire to be permitted to enter the Temple Area with two Ladies, the Pacha exclaimed, 'Ladies—Ladies—too late—just going.' I said that the ladies were below; he exclaimed, 'Ladies in my house, I would like to see them.' I ran down, and told them that the Pacha wished to be introduced to them, and that they had only to make a profound curtsy, on being presented. The ceremony had barely been gone thro', when the Duke and his party were announced, the Pacha rose to meet and at once accompanied them and us into the Temple grounds, thro' a door which entered from the Court of his Palace. We had barely got in, when we were saluted by an extraordinary looking figure, who leapt, —threw his arms over his head, and screamed with all his might and main. He was immediately seized by the Attendants,—pinioned,—part of his dress was thrust into his mouth,—and he was hurried out of

sight. We were informed that the Dervishes who reside in and about the Mosque of Omar, had been shut up to avoid disturbance, and, that the one just hurried off, had got out, or been overlooked.

"The stone platform on which Solomon built his temple, and on which the Mosque of Omar now stands, is of very considerable size, and covers an Area of thirty five Acres within the enclosure. It is perfectly level, and has been highly polished by the sandaled and by the bare feet of the countless worshippers, during three thousands of years. In fact, I know of no place whose peculiar sanctity has been so acknowledged by peoples so diverse in origin, and in religious belief. Jews,—Christians and Musselmans have vied with each other in their veneration for this Holy spot.

"We were hurried through this hallowed spot, in what appeared to me to be unseemly haste, and were dismissed thro' a postern gate, which opened in the immediate vicinity of the Jews quarter of the City."

The only distant excursion made was to the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

On our way back, between Jericho and Bethany we witnessed an incident very illustrative of the permanence of habit and mode of life in the East. My father thus tells the story:

"We had bathed in the sacred river, on the banks from which our Redeemer had been baptized by John, and we were then treading in his very footsteps toward Jernusalem, when we witnessed a scene such as suggested to him one of his parables, fraught with

lessons as full of meaning to ourselves as to the self-righteous Jew.

"Soon after passing the site of Jericho we found, lying on the roadside an Arab, who was grievously wounded and helpless. He had been attacked by the band of prowling Bedouins near whom we had encamped the previous night. He was literally "a wayfaring man who had fallen among thieves." It was beautiful to witness the conduct of our Sheik, who, in his own estimation, and in that of his band, was the greatest man of our party. He got off his superb horse, and assisted by my sons and me, placed the wounded and helpless Arab upon it; then, placing one of his band on each side, to sustain the wounded man on the saddle, he himself, taking the bridle in his hand, led the horse until we came to an habitation where he could be cared for. These circumstances we witnessed on the roadside between Jericho and Jerusalem on the 9th day of April, 1855.

"Anno Domini 32 St. Luke wrote, Chap. 10, verses 30 to 35 inclusive, 'And Jesus answering said:

"'30. A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

"'31. And by chance there came down a certain Priest that way, and when he saw him he passed by on the other side.

"'32. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

“ ‘33. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him, he had compassion upon him.

“ ‘34. And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

“ ‘35. And on the morrow, when he departed he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him; Take care of him, and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.’

“The circumstances and the localities are precisely similar, and is the attitude of Christians to Mohame-dans very different from that of the Jew to the Samaritan?”

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Though my father had retired from practice his hand as a surgical instrument had not lost its cunning, nor had he forfeited by disuse or age that keen instinct which enabled him to diagnose disease by facial expression or such secondary signs. On the Nile he had acquired a reputation as a great *hakim* or physician. Once when we were just casting off from Luxor an Arab hurried on board from a boat which had come up the river. He besought my father to go and see his master. He found a magnificent old fellow returning to the interior. He was one of those objectionable Arab traders who dealt in human beings as well as amber beads, but he was suffering from an acute attack of pneumonia. We delayed our

departure for a week till the patient was out of danger. In his gratitude he offered to send my father a hippopotamus. It was not the first time in his life my father refused a fee.

CHAPTER VIII

HE BECOMES INTERESTED IN THE CARE OF THE INSANE AND IN THE QUEBEC LUNATIC ASYLUM

As early as 1824 a special committee was appointed to report on the provision made for the insane in the Province of Quebec. The unfortunates were then cared for in three hospitals—that of the Grey Nuns, the Hospital General of Quebec; in the Hospital General in Montreal, conducted by the nuns of the same order; and the hospital of the Ursulines in Three Rivers. A few were confined in the gaols. The Committee reported that in the General Hospital of Quebec there were 18 cells, whose dimensions were 8'x7½'x8' high, and six more cells 9'x9'x9' for less violent patients. The cells in the Montreal General Hospital were 8'x6'3"x7'10" high. The six cells of the Ursuline Hospital at Three Rivers were 8'x6'x8'. The evidence was to the effect that the cells were occupied day and night, the patients seldom leaving them except once in eight days when their cells were cleaned out and their clothes changed. The diet was that of the Hospital patients. Light was admitted through a small window or a bull's eye in each cell and the only ventilation was through a grilled open-

ing above the door, by which also heat entered from a corridor. An open trough in each cell leading into a common drain carried off the excreta. The committee exonerates the religious ladies from all blame, as they were acting up to their light, and each hospital was under the charge of an eminent medical man, Dr. Holmes being the attendant of the Quebec General Hospital. The Reverend Lady Superior of the Three Rivers establishment when asked the question as to whether the treatment and accommodations were calculated to assist in the cure of the patients, sincerely answered that "The insane receive the treatment proper for their cure, and their accommodation is such that they can be treated in a manner to relieve their suffering, which is done with the tenderest care." This opinion is expressed just after the Lady Superior testified that the insane are immured day and night in the same cell, but that one of their four patients is sane enough to be permitted to take the air and some exercise for a few days each month.

The number of insane in the Province was not great. The Committee found that since 1800, 66 male and 45 female patients were confined as insane in the Quebec General Hospital, and in the General Hospital of Montreal 84 patients—"and that the cells appropriated to the insane of the Province do not permit of properly applying either moral or medical treatment for care of the insane," and that the sum paid for their support and treatment would have built a well equipped asylum "which would have

done honor to the humanity and philanthropy of the Country."

The report was printed but never acted upon, and this inhuman treatment continued to be practised till 1845, when my father and two partners made a contract to care for the insane. Since then they have received proper care, but the vicious system of farming out has been perpetuated in the Province of Quebec.

Thus it came about that my father for twenty years was devoted heart and soul to this branch of medical science. He has told in his autobiographical sketch of his association with Dr. Morrin and Dr. Fremont in this enterprise. They were earnest and congenial fellow-workers till Dr. Morrin's death. My father's share was originally one-half, and that of each of the others one-quarter, in the cost and profits of the enterprise. On Dr. Morrin's death in 1861 Dr. Fremont bought his share. He and my father were therefore equal partners till 1863, when Dr. Fremont died. Dr. Landry, a French Canadian medical man, agreeable to my father and the government, purchased half of Dr. Fremont's interest in the Asylum and the contract.

Some of the incidents connected with my father's ownership and disposal of his interest were matters of public notoriety—others of them were not so well known.

The system of "farming out" the insane had always existed, and in 1845 was perpetuated through an urgent popular call for immediate action. The first report published by the contractor after the applica-

tion of modern methods to the care of the insane, gives interesting details of the old methods of treating the patients, and of the amelioration of their condition secured by hastily improvised provisions. These early reports are very rare and portions of them are worthy of reprinting as public documents. Though the temporary asylum was opened in 1845, the first published report was not issued till 1849. It was addressed to the Commissioners of the Lower Canada Lunatic Asylum.

GENTLEMEN,—

We, the Managers of the Temporary Lunatic Asylum, at Beauport, beg leave very respectfully to lay before you the following REPORT, having reference to the state and condition of the patients entrusted to our care by the Government, and to the mode in which they have been treated during the past three years.

Towards the close of the last century, an order in Council was passed, authorizing an appropriation for the maintenance of insane persons in the Province of Lower Canada. These insane persons were intrusted to the care of certain religious communities in the respective districts of Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers; the Government paying a yearly sum of about £32 10s. for the support of each patient.

[The sum allowed by Government for the support of each patient was one shilling and eight pence per diem: there were besides occasional appropriations for the repairs of the building and fence.]

As in similar institutions in Europe, at this period, insane persons were confined merely as unmanageable, or as dangerous to the community, or to themselves. No measures were adopted for their restoration to reason. They were shut up in separate cells, were debarred intercourse with the world and with each other, were left to brood over their disordered fancies, until they became maniacal, tore their clothes, became filthy in their habits, and from a well known law of nature,

that the faculties become dormant for want of exercise, became imbecile or idiotic. Occasionally a patient was removed by his friends; rarely was one discharged restored to reason. Over the portals of these receptacles might, with truth, have been engraved the well-known lines of Dante: "*O voi che intrate, lasciate la speranza.*"

Strong representations were made from time to time by different Grand Juries, of the general unfitness of these receptacles, of their filthy condition, of the damp and want of ventilation of the cells, and of the general treatment of the unfortunate inmates.

In justice to the religious ladies, it must be said, that they themselves were desirous to be relieved from their charge, and repeatedly urged the unfitness of the place of confinement and the necessity of better means of accommodation for the patients under their care.

In 1843, Sir C. Metcalfe assumed the Government of the Canadas, and in his first speech at the opening of the House, urged the necessity of an improved system of treatment for the insane. During the session notice was given, by the Hon. T. C. Aylwin, of his intention to bring in a Bill to provide for the care and treatment of the insane, but owing to the press of other business, the session passed over without any action being taken in the matter.

During the subsequent recess, the Governor General caused the different places in which the insane were confined, to be visited, and estimates formed of the expense of their removal to the country, and of the cost of their care, maintenance, and medical treatment.

At the subsequent meeting of the Legislature, the Governor General again brought the subject of Asylums for the insane before the House, but the session was extremely short, and passed over without any further reference being made to the matter.

During the summer of 1845, His Excellency having made an agreement with the undersigned, directed the insane persons then confined in the Districts of Quebec and Three Rivers to be removed to a place fitted up for their temporary reception at Beauport in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and where

they were accordingly removed on the 10th September, 1845.

At this time the insane persons in the District of Montreal were confined in the jail; this however, was destitute of almost every requisite for a Lunatic Asylum. It was surrounded by buildings, there was no land on which the patients could be employed, the yards were insufficient for exercise, and moreover, the building was required for its more legitimate purposes. Under these circumstances, the Governor General directed the removal of the insane from the District of Montreal to the Temporary Asylum at Beauport. This Temporary Asylum was situated $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Quebec, and was leased for the purpose from Col. Guly, M. P. P.

The property comprised the Manor House, an extensive block of outbuildings of stone, and about two hundred acres of land. The grounds were diversified, were sufficiently well wooded, had a southern exposure, and commanded a magnificent view of the city and harbour of Quebec.

The principal building was capable of being fitted up to accommodate 120 patients, with their attendants.

On the 10th September, the arrangements were completed for the reception of 100 patients. The apartments consisted of a public dining room, a corridor for male patients, 108 feet by 12 wide, with bed-rooms opening into it, containing 40 beds, and one large dormitory containing 24 beds. The female patients occupied a day-room 36 by 18, a work-room 40 by 22, and five bed-rooms containing 40 beds. Several female patients capable of sewing or being otherwise employed, were lodged with the Warden and Matron in the Manor House.

On the morning of the 15th September, 1845, the insane persons in charge of the religious ladies of the General Hospital in Quebec, were transferred to the Asylum at Beauport. Much interest was felt by the undersigned in the removal of these unfortunate beings. One had been confined 28 years, several upwards of 20 years, and the remainder for various lesser periods. During the whole of this time they had been shut up in separate cells, in a low, one story building, and surrounded by a strong cedar fence, 12 feet high. They had never been permitted to leave the building, most of them had never been allowed to leave the separate small cells in which

they had been confined; and, excepting on an occasional visit from the Grand Jury, they had rarely seen any person but those who ministered to their urgent wants. Of these patients, almost all were filthy in their habits; many were considered destructive; and the remainder had become imbecile or idiotic.

They were removed in open carriages and in cabs. They offered no resistance; on the contrary, they were delighted with the ride; and the view of the city, the river, trees, and the passers by, excited in them the most pleasurable emotions.—On their arrival at the Asylum at Beauport, they were placed together at table to breakfast; and it was most interesting to witness the propriety of their conduct, to watch their actions, to listen to their conversation with each other, and to remark the amazement with which they regarded everything around them. All traces of ferocity, turbulence and noise had suddenly vanished; they found themselves again in the world, and treated like rational beings; and they endeavored to behave as such. One, a man of education and talents, whose mind was in fragments, but whose recollection of a confinement of 28 years was most vivid, wandered from window to window. He saw Quebec, and knew it to be a city; he knew ships and boats on the river and bay, but could not comprehend steamers. Before leaving the General Hospital, the Nuns had clothed him well and given him a pair of shoes. He remarked that he had been a long time shut up, and that it was 19 years since he had last seen leather. Another, a man who had been confined 20 years, and who had always evinced a turbulent disposition, demanded a broom, and commenced sweeping; he insisted on the others employing themselves also. He observed, "these poor people are all fools, and if you will give me a constable's staff, you will see how I will manage them, and make them work."

As soon as their muscular powers were sufficiently restored, the patients were induced to employ themselves in occupations the most congenial to their former habits and tastes. Some worked in the garden, others preferred sawing and splitting wood. The female patients were taken out daily, and many of them engaged in weeding in the garden.

The effects of this system were soon apparent in their improved health and spirits; they became stronger, and ate and slept better. Some of them were restored to reason. One had been confined many years in a cell in the General Hospital; 13 months after his removal to the Asylum at Beauport, he was restored to his family and friends; another had also been an inmate of a cell several years, and after her discharge from the Asylum, engaged as a School Teacher. The other patients generally, though greatly improved, afforded small prospect of recovery; the disease of the brain had become chronic or organic, and their faculties and mental powers had been so weakened by long disease, as to preclude any reasonable hope of restoring them to society and to their friends. It is, however, gratifying to be able to state that of all those removed from the General Hospital to the Asylum at Beauport, one only has been subject to even temporary restraint.

On the 28th Sept. 1845, the insane patients, 52 in number, were transferred from the Jail in Montreal to the Asylum at Beauport. As a class they were much more violent and destructive than the patients previously admitted from the other districts. Their cases, however, were more curable, and their minds less weakened by long confinement.

On the 5th October, the insane patients, 7 in number, were brought down from Three Rivers. Their condition was much more deplorable than that of the patients admitted from Quebec. They arrived chained and handcuffed. We were informed by their keepers that some of them had been kept fastened to staples driven into the floors of their respective cells. When approached, they shewed a disposition to bite, even after their hands and feet had been unfastened. No appearance of violence or turbulence was evinced after their admission into the Asylum; on the contrary, they were found extremely harmless and docile.

One of these patients, a Canadian, and a powerfully made man, was pointed out by his keeper as being extremely violent and dangerous. He strongly opposed his being unfastened; this however was done on board of the steamer, and he was conducted to a cab, which he entered without any opposition

or reluctance. He answered to the name of Jacques, but could give no account of himself whatever. He had been picked up in the woods on the River St. Maurice, with his feet frozen, and had been confined in the cells at Three Rivers during a period of seven years. A few days after his removal to Beauport, observing a man sawing wood, he pushed him aside, took the saw and used it himself; this seemed to afford him great pleasure. When not so employed out of doors, his constant amusement was in fishing. He would stand for hours together as if using a rod and line, and sometimes as if fishing through a hole in the ice. He was found to be quite inoffensive and harmless. He died of diseased lungs on the 7th March, 1846. Soon after his death, his brother and son arrived from the neighbourhood of Montreal in search of him, being attracted by a notice in the public prints, that an insane man, who could give no account of himself had been found wandering in one of the parishes below Quebec, and sent to the Asylum at Beauport. His friends stated that Jacques had escaped from their charge several years before, and that not being able to trace him, or gain any tidings of him, they concluded that he had perished in the woods.

On the 5th October, 1845, the whole number of patients in the Asylum was 82. Since then the number has been gradually increasing, and additional rooms have been from time to time fitted up as well to accommodate this increasing number as to afford the means of their more complete separation and classification.

On the 1st October, 1848, the period expired during which the undersigned had engaged with the Government for the care, maintenance, and medical treatment of the insane from the different districts in C. E. and they take the occasion of their entering into another engagement for a further period, to lay before the Commissioners a statement of what has been done during the past three years, in their endeavours to carry out the intentions of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the insane.

STATE OF PATIENTS ON ADMISSION.

On the 1st of October, 1845, there were 82 patients in the Asylum. Of these more than 60 were considered as affording

very faint or no hopes of recovery. Most of these had suffered so greatly from long confinement and restraint, as to present body and mind equally broken down and diseased. One died within 24 hours after admission, two more within 15 days, and eleven within the ensuing 12 months.

From the 1st October, 1845, to 1st October, 1848, there have been admitted 152 cases: the greater number of these had been for years previous to their admission subject to treatment which tended to confirm their disease. Few recent cases were brought to the Asylum, or until they could be no longer taken care of by their friends, in consequence of their dangerous propensities, or filthy habits. Some had been confined in Jail as dangerous, and had been allowed to remain there for months before their removal to the Asylum. Very many of the patients have arrived tied, chained and excoriated, furious and excited by restraint, and impaired in health by long continued seclusion.

These cases presented almost every variety of insanity, homicidal, furious, suicidal, melancholy, religious and gay. One was admitted with his windpipe divided; several, after different suicidal attempts. One, a powerful man, had been tied for some time to his bed, before admission, and the cords on his wrists had been so tightened by his furious endeavours to get loose, as to induce mortification of both his hands. We are convinced from our observation and experience, that of the incurables now in the Asylum, three-fourths are so from the want of proper treatment in an Asylum, at the commencement of their disease. Nothing is more strongly impressed on our minds than the fact, that on the first attack of insanity, time lost in the treatment of the complaint is seldom recovered. Of all those admitted during the past three years, 43 only have been recent cases. Of these 21 have been discharged, cured, and only 2 have had a return of mental disease. It is thus obviously a matter of economy, apart from humane considerations, to secure for the insane prompt and efficient medical treatment at the early stage of their disease.

RESTRAINT.

In undertaking a charge which involved so great an amount of responsibility, we availed ourselves of every obtainable

information from similar institutions, as well in Europe as in the United States. The result of our inquiries was a conviction that the greatest amount of good was to be effected by an uniform and unvarying system of conciliation and kindness. This system carried into full effect by intelligent and active servants, we have found to answer admirably. At first a chair, made to confine the arms, was used, but was shortly abandoned for the leather strap and wrist bands or mitts; this has been the only restraining apparatus used in the Asylum for upwards of two years. It allows the patients to take free exercise either in or out of doors, and prevents any injury they might be disposed to inflict either on themselves or on others. Even this apparatus is very rarely employed; its use has been in a great measure superseded by increased capacity and watchfulness on the part of the attendants, and these qualities in the attendants have, on the other hand, been brought into more active exercise by the disuse of restraining apparatus.

Seclusion, as a means of restraint, is occasionally, but very seldom resorted to, and then only for a very short period, during a paroxysm: and when long continued, we have reason to believe it to be injurious to the patient, and only to be sanctioned by extreme necessity. Restraint, whether by means of the body strap and mitts or by seclusion, are only permitted to be employed by the order and under the immediate superintendence of the resident Physician or Warden.

All violence, abusive language, or threats, on the part of the attendants towards the patients, is punished by immediate dismissal; and we are happy to say that only on two occasions have instances of abuse been brought under our notice during the past three years.

EMPLOYMENT.

Among the means which we have found most useful in tranquillizing the insane, and in enabling us to dispense so fully with the use of restraint, exercise and employment in the open air may be reckoned as the most useful.

AMUSEMENTS.

In several cases we have found music and dancing of great benefit as remedial agents. In one case they roused a patient

from a state of the most abject melancholy, and gave a stimulus to his mental faculties, which resulted in perfect recovery. In another case they effected a change from a state of melancholy with strong suicidal propensities, to a state of cheerfulness and enjoyment, which still continues, and is likely also to result in cure. Whatever opinion may be formed of dancing by the sane, it is unquestionably a legitimate and fitting source of amusement for insane persons.

[There can be no doubt as to the authorship of this last sentence. My father though he may not have practiced all John Wesley's precepts had a horror of dancing.]

By the statement of admissions, discharges and deaths, it will be seen that of 234 cases admitted during the past three years, 109 were cases of long standing, and in whom of consequence the chances of cure were very much reduced. It is to be expected that the majority of the cases to be admitted for some time to come, will also be cases of considerable standing, and of course with a small average of recoveries. Extreme reluctance was manifested on the part of the friends of insane persons to send them to such receptacles as existed some years ago; this reluctance still exists. The idea of an Asylum is still associated with dark cells, with furious madness, chains, straw, filth, and nakedness. Some time will yet elapse ere the friends of insane persons in Canada will send them to an Asylum for the mere purpose of cure, with a full assurance that as much quiet, cleanliness, order and subordination exist, as in any Hospital for the cure of any other disease.

The building now occupied as an Asylum, though the best that could be obtained at the time, was not built for the purpose, and is manifestly inadequate. It does not afford us the means of carrying out our wishes and intentions as to the complete separation and classification of the patients, and from their increasing number it has become necessary to remove several of them to another building on the property of the late Judge De Bonne. These circumstances, under an arrangement with Government for a further period of seven



QUEBEC LUNATIC ASYLUM IN 1850

years, have decided us to erect an Hospital of such an extent and with such arrangements as will combine every thing necessary to the cure of persons afflicted with mental disease. The necessary contracts have been entered into, for the erection of the Hospital on the plan herewith submitted, and we confidently hope to be able to remove the patients from the present to the contemplated new Asylum, during the month of September next.

The Government, relieved by the contract from taking immediate action, did nothing, as is usual with Governments. But they resorted to the easiest expedient, as told in the last paragraph of the first report—they renewed the contract for seven years on condition that suitable buildings be erected. These were built on the site of the present women's building. The original structure was architecturally less hideous than the present, for the central building was surmounted by a shapely dome. The women occupied the west wing; the men the east.

From the second report issued in 1851 the following extracts are made:

REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,—

Since the date of our last report, it has pleased Almighty God to bless our endeavours to restore health of mind to many of the patients committed to our care.

In very many cases, where the disease of the brain was of long duration, or accompanied by circumstances which rendered a restoration to reason nearly or utterly hopeless, we have been enabled, at least, to render them happy, cheerful, contented, and in many instances, useful.

In the worst and most revolting cases, among the idiotic, the dangerous and the filthy, we have, by steady perseverance in a system of care and kindness, brought their minds to as high a degree of enjoyment and comfort as their merely

animal natures are susceptible of. In these, and in the preceding class of cases, if we could not hope to restore them to reason and to the world, we could at least do much to mitigate the horrors which had hitherto accompanied a deprivation of reason, and had rendered these unfortunates the objects of chains, bars, out-houses, starvation and neglect.

At the date of our last report there were in the Asylum:—

Males	..	..	..	..	..	70
Females	..	..	..	..	..	60
						— 130

There have been admitted since:—

Males	..	..	..	..	..	101
Females	..	..	..	..	..	30
						— 131

The total number under treatment since October 1, 1848, up to the 1st May, 1851, has been 311

Of these have been discharged:—

Cured Males	..	..	..	..	..	28
Females	..	..	..	..	..	24
						— 52
Improved Males	..	..	..	..	..	3
Females	..	..	..	..	..	2
						— 5
Not Improved Males	..	..	..	..	..	1
Females	..	..	..	..	..	1
						— 2
						59

Have died—Males	..	..	..	..	..	46
Females	..	..	..	..	..	30
						— 76

Remaining 1st May, 1851:

Males	..	..	..	..	..	95
Females	..	..	..	..	..	81
						— 176

In our last Report, we adverted to the great numbers of incurable cases in the Asylum, we observed that—

The opinion expressed has been most fully borne out by

our experience since that time. Of the 181 cases admitted from October, 1848, to this date, 51 may be considered as having been recent, and as offering a reasonable hope of restoration to reason. The remainder were old cases in whom body and mind were equally broken down. Some were idiotic, some paralytic, and many epileptic. The majority of the cases were sent to the Asylum after having exhausted the sympathies and patience of their friends, and worn out even their hopes of their death. One, an aged man of 82, and paralytic, was brought a distance of 180 miles, to die within two hours. Five others during this period were admitted, whose ages were from 70 to 80 years.

Of the 181 cases admitted since October, 1848, 44 have recovered.

The remainder as well as those brought forward to date of last Report remain in Hospital, and, with a few exceptions, will be only discharged by death.

This picture, melancholy as it undoubtedly is, yet affords matter for consolation.

The whole number of patients now in the Asylum may be classified as follows, with tolerable correctness:—

Reasonable hopes of recovery.....	16
Very doubtful.....	8
Nearly or quite hopeless.....	152—176

It is not to be supposed that this classification is arbitrary. On the contrary, many in whom there appears now a reasonable hope of recovery will gradually sink into confirmed lunacy, while occasionally one whose case now appears hopeless will recover. This has occurred so frequently as to cause us to hesitate before condemning any individual patient to the society of idiots and incurables, and thus extinguishing all hope; for the same laws which regulate the mind in the healthy, equally regulate it in the diseased state. In society we find that associations with the virtuous and intelligent tend to exalt and ennoble the mind, while associations with the depraved and worthless equally tend to lower and debase it.

From the foregoing table it will be observed that the

patients now in the Asylum are mostly incurable cases, and we wish particularly to direct attention to the fact, that the time will very shortly arrive when these will occupy the entire Asylum, to the exclusion of recent and curable cases.

With regard to restraining apparatus, the mitts have been abandoned, and the only restraint now used is the leather body strap, and this for the purpose of preventing the patient injuring himself,—never for the purpose of preventing him from injuring others. The less restraining apparatus are used, the more vigilant and watchful do the attendants become.

In the almost entire disuse of restraint, we may observe, that no successful suicide has taken place, and no serious injury has at any time been inflicted by any patient, either on himself or on others.

The building referred to in our last report has been fully occupied since April, 1850. It is constructed of grey limestone, hammer-dressed and laid in courses. It is covered with slates, and surmounted by a dome and lantern. The front, including the wings, is 418 feet.—The building consists of two stories, with basements and attics. The basement is devoted to kitchen, offices, cellars and furnace rooms. The first story contains Physician's and Superintendent's offices, a dining room on each side, 40 x 40, corridors or day-rooms, 130 x 20, with bed-rooms, bath and wash-rooms. The second story contains a dining-room on each side, corridors 80 x 20. The remainder of this story is divided into bed-rooms and dormitories; the attics are divided into large work-rooms in front, and bed-rooms in each wing. The lodges are situated at the extremity of each wing, and consist of four day-rooms and thirty-two bed-rooms.

The whole, as now finished, is capable of affording ample accommodation for 275 patients.

Referring to certain architectural details of the new buildings the contractors say:

“Of the minor architectural arrangements, and the internal management of the Asylum, your frequent visits leave us

little to remark. We may merely observe that the lands and buildings, as now completed, have caused us an expenditure in money of upwards of £12,000, and that something yet remains to be expended in out-houses and work-shops. We have hitherto been guided by a desire to adopt every architectural arrangement, and every modern improvement which could in any way conduce to the comfort, enjoyment, welfare and safe-keeping of the insane, and we have done so without regard to merely economical considerations, and on a scale which leaves us little hope of being remunerated for our outlay and exertions. It must be apparent to every one that an Asylum cannot be conducted at the same amount of expenditure as an ordinary hospital or poor-house; the general arrangements are much more costly; the wear and tear of bedding and clothing; the number of attendants and servants; the quality and cost of diet, are all much greater."

The next report published was issued in 1855. The fourth in 1858. It reverts to a subject which always worried the Management, viz., crowding the wards with incurables, most of whom were harmless but too hopelessly deficient in mind to be cured. They could not be made useful at home and therefore were foisted on the public. The proportion of this class of the insane in Quebec is large, and that of the maniacal class very small. The report for 1858 recalls the attention of the authorities to the crowding out of recent cases by the chronic insane and by old men and women suffering from other diseases as well as mental, which were discussed in previous reports apparently to no purpose. It continues:

We regret that the report now submitted to you, shews no improvement whatever in this respect.

From the tables of admissions, discharges and deaths it will be seen that of the 143 admitted during the past

year, 55 only were recent cases, or which afforded any reasonable hope of recovery; of the remainder, 69 were old persons, or demented, or idiots, to whom the Asylum affords only a comfortable home until death.

Nineteen were fatally ill with organic disease on their admission: of these 14 have already died,—one within 6 weeks; 4 within 5 weeks; 1 within 12 days; and 1 within 8 days; and, in all human probability, 8 more of those admitted during the past year will be, in a very few weeks, consigned to the grave.

Of the 143 cases admitted during the past year, 4 were upwards of 70 years old; 5 were upwards of 67; and 5 were upwards of 60 years.

Of the 143 cases admitted during the past year, 17 have died; their pathological condition was: 5 exhaustion; 3 consumption; 4 chronic bowel complaint; 1 disease of heart; 1 dropsy; 2 palsy; 1 inflammation of lungs.

By reference to the tables, it will be observed that the number of patients in the Asylum is steadily increasing.—The steady increase of the population of the province will more than account for the increased demand for admission; and the very liberal sum which the benevolence of the Government has granted for the care and maintenance of the insane, has, no doubt, been the cause of inducing many persons to send old and chronic cases to the Asylum—cases which would and ought to have remained under the care of their friends.

As we very properly are relieved from any responsibility connected with the admission of the patients, we are not prepared to say that the admission of these aged and infirm persons has been to the exclusion of recent and curable cases.

Having constantly felt the want of correct information on the state and condition of the patients, previous to their admission into the Asylum, the Government, on the requisition of your Board, directed that each application for admission should be accompanied by answers to certain queries; among which the principal were on the form in which the

insanity manifested itself; its known or supposed cause; the duration of the disease; and its probable hereditary taint.

The knowledge of these facts is of extreme importance to us, as well in the treatment of the disease as in enabling us to arrive at any reliable statistical result. We regret to say that the intentions of the Government and of your Board have been very imperfectly carried out; as during the past year, out of the 143 patients admitted, answers to these queries have only been furnished in 36 cases.

The causes of insanity, as given in the ordinary statistical tables of asylums, are very numerous. Many of these causes, however, may fairly be considered rather as effects.

The rural population of this province is particularly exempt from most of the causes which are supposed to induce insanity; they are not only free from want, or from a struggle for the means of existence, but they are mostly proprietors.—They are free from those disturbing religious feelings which, in the United States, are stated to be a prolific cause of insanity. They are an extremely moral people, and free from that *secret vice* which is so prevalent in other countries; which, without doubt, weakens and destroys the mind, and of which we have so many deplorable cases in the Asylum. Intemperance, one of the most common causes, and one which existed in great force a few years ago, is now happily banished in a great degree from the country, and confined principally to the cities and their neighborhood. We have reason to believe intemperance to be a fruitful source of insanity: in stating this to be our opinion, we feel compelled, as medical men, to state broadly and unequivocally our reasons for it.

It is a well-known law of the animal economy, that any organ or organs unduly excited, suffer, in consequence, a proportionate degree of debility or exhaustion.

It is well known that the due performance of the functions of the brain depend on the healthy state and condition of the digestive organs. It is well known that the effect of intoxicating drinks is to disturb the digestive functions, and cause disease of the organs. Independently of this reflex

action upon the brain, the effect of intoxicating drinks in immediately disturbing the functions of the brain itself, is too obvious to require any statement of ours to give it force. As this unnatural and unhealthy stimulus acts so surely and so injuriously on the digestive organs, it acts more surely, more speedily, and more injuriously, on the brain and nervous system.

There is one cause, and one which we have reason to believe, is on the increase in this province; viz., hereditary taint. In the absence of reliable returns, we are not prepared to say in what proportion of cases this cause operates. We have ample proof that it does operate, and to a very considerable extent. We have already stated that, during the past year, we have received answers in 36 cases only! to the question "whether insanity was known to exist in the family?" In twelve of these it is certified that insanity had manifested itself in the parents or in the immediate blood relations.—Nothing is more certain than that the physical and mental qualities of parents are transmitted to their children; this is equally true with respect to the transmission of their tendencies to specific and well-defined diseases. This fact is well known to agriculturists, and is acted upon by them in the selection or rearing of their stock; although they themselves, like the community in general, form matrimonial ties without any reference to the purity of blood or tendency to disease in their families.

There are now in the Asylum:—Mother and daughters; brothers; sisters; brothers and sisters.

With respect to this hereditary taint, it is remarked by Dr. Ray, one of the most acute observers in the United States, that, "of all the physical causes of insanity, none should be more carefully heeded than this, because it is, at the same time, the most prolific and the most easily avoided.

Patients, however, were forced on the contractors in excess of the accommodations. A board of Asylum and Prison Inspection was created and their reports from the first complained of overcrowding. Nor was

the complaint easy to remedy under the contract system, especially as the Government never obligated itself to buy the real estate of the contractor at the termination of a contract. The second contract for seven years was renewed for ten. The quotations from the managers' early reports refer to the unprofitable terms of the contract, which I think allowed 37½ cents per day for feeding, clothing and housing each patient, and providing medical and nursing attendance. The buildings erected were useless for any other purpose. To relieve the overcrowding the Richardson residence, where the present men's building now stands, to the east of the original property, was converted into very incommodious overflow quarters for men. The central building in 1862-63 was torn down and rebuilt with two additional stories: and two square three-story structures flanked the front of the building, communicating with it and the old wings. But these were palpably insufficient and the overcrowding, as the jails were emptied into the Asylum, became insufferable. Matters became more and more intolerable when Confederation happened to be under discussion. The two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were still under one government. John Macdonald and Etienne Cartier were virtually joint premiers. My father and Dr. Landry met them, and they promised a renewal of the contract for ten years, if another large building to accommodate the men were erected. They were about starting for England on their Confederation mission and could not discuss details. But upon their assurance of a renewal of the contract the men's

building was commenced. The Asylum came under the control of Hon. Wm. McDougall. He was an able man, but only too glad if anyone would relieve him from work. This the Hon. Hector Longeoin was only too willing to do, and therefore the details of the contract were turned over to him. He immediately suggested certain modifications. One was that the resident physician should be appointed by Government. This my father objected to, as it would introduce divided authority into the household. The proposal was modified to the appointment by Government of the medical inspector to be paid by the contractor. The Government however did not accept or reject the dietary nor the general rules of the establishment, but left all these questions on which loss or profit depended, considering the scanty margin available, open to the decision of the Inspector. It was evident, therefore, that the medical contractors, committed to an expenditure of about \$120,000 on the new building, could be placed at any moment in a very precarious financial position. Macdonald and Cartier, when appealed to, were too busy with imperial concerns to interest themselves in so trivial a matter. There was nothing left but to sign the contract *under protest*, though it was perfectly well understood that the protest was not worth the paper it was written on. Dr. Roy, a great friend of Father Boldue, the Chaplain to the Asylum, and of M. Cauchon, then in both the Federal and Provincial Parliaments, was appointed government visiting physician.



NOLENS VOLENS.

SALE OF LUNATIC ASYLUM—A CASE OF NOLENS VOLENS

The new contract worked without friction; but we perfectly understood that to the local government and the Church my father was not a *persona grata*, and that from some quarter or other overtures of purchase would be made. On the eve of my father's departure for Europe in the fall of 1865, Mr. Joseph Cauchon came to an Asylum ball with the intention of broaching the subject to him, but they did not meet. Soon after he had sailed, M. Cauchon approached me. Knowing that retirement from the contract was inevitable, and that unless we retired gracefully we would be compelled to retreat with loss, I in my father's absence agreed with M. Cauchon to sell one-half at what the landed property, the buildings and the stores on hand originally cost, the valuation to be determined by Mr. Vincellette, the Superintendent and Treasurer of the Asylum. There was no concealment during the negotiations as to M. Cauchon being the purchaser, but the deed was made in Dr. Roy's favor and he signed it. My father's other quarter was bought by Dr. Landry at \$10,000, less than its equivalent value, because of an option to repurchase which my father in his generosity had given to the widow of his old partner, Dr. Fremont, in favor of any one of his sons who might be qualified to fill his father's place. That ultimately Dr. Roy claimed to own M. Cauchon's interest and that M. Cauchon was obliged to resign his seat in the local legislature for illegally holding a contract under government, were matters of public record. To myself personally retirement from the Asylum was a great grief.

I had been unofficially for several years engaged in its management and was studying medicine to qualify myself to be my father's partner and successor. I had been brought up among the insane and was fond of them and had acquired that tact which is so essential to their management.

Dr. Roy and after Dr. Landry's death, his son, though not a physician, carried on the contract till 1893, when the property and the contract were transferred to the Sisters of Charity. Thus the insane returned to the care of a religious order after the lapse of more than half a century. During that half century the treatment of mental diseases had kept pace with the progress of medicine and surgery, and none were better qualified than the good sisters to avail themselves of the humanitarian method which had displaced the older barbarous practices.*

For some years before my father's involuntary retirement from the Asylum the contract had been profitable. The increase in the number of patients had coincided with the great drop in the price of all provisions due to the War of Secession and the high

*The *Daily Telegraph* of April 8, 1893, in its account of the negotiations between the Sisters of Charity and the Proprietors put the price paid for the Asylum at \$425,000, a sum greatly in excess of what Mr. Cauchon and Dr. Landry paid for it, though in the interval they had not erected any large additions. The *Telegraph* gives the contract price per head as only \$100 per annum. The Government appoints the medical staff and the medical treatment is taken out of the control of the contractors, who have merely to feed, clothe and lodge the inmates.

price of gold. If I recollect aright, our calculations had been based on flour at \$7.00, and it dropped to \$4.00, and of pork at \$20.00 or \$21.00, and it dropped to \$7.00 or \$8.00 a barrel. But except during that limited period of time, the profits were not commensurate to the risk and the labor.

This whole story of the buying and selling of a sacred public trust, and the calculation of profits from the treatment of the most helpless of all afflicted creatures, is in itself an unanswerable argument against farming out the insane.

In their report for 1873 the Proprietors discuss in great detail the economy of the farming out system as compared with that of State control. They say: "In virtue of a contract between the Provincial Government and the Proprietors of the Asylum of Quebec, the insane are treated in this establishment." "Under the arrangement the Government engages to supply 650 patients to the asylum, and in case more than that number have to be provided for, up to any reasonable number, they must be received at a lower price."

"The Asylum contains at present nearly 800 patients, for each of which the Government pays \$143.00 per year. Under the new contract there will be only 650 patients for which the Government will pay \$143.00; the surplus will cost the Government only \$132.00 per head."

The proprietors then proceed to compare the price paid by the Quebec Government with the cost of maintenance per patient in the United States and Europe. They arrived at the following figures:

England	—	—	\$122.20	per year per patient.
France	—	—	\$136.58	“ “ “ “
United States	—		\$257.40	
Canada—Toronto Asylum		—	\$131.75	
London		—	129.24	
Rockwood		—	143.00	
St. Johns, New Brunswick		—	111.76	
Halifax, Nova Scotia		—	186.64	
St. John, Quebec		—	265.85	
Quebec		—	108.00	

The figure named, \$108.00, does not correspond with the old contract price, nor with what is understood to be the contract price of today, \$116.00. If it represents the actual cost to the contractors, it shows too small a margin on a contract price of \$116.00, and too large a margin on a contract of \$132.00. In comparing prices the fact must be taken into consideration that the contractors have to provide buildings, which are not included in the maintenance cost of institutions supported by Government.

The table however illustrates the weakness of the contract system from any other point of view than economy. If the insane are farmed out, every economy has to be exercised by the contractor, and he has to calculate how cheaply he can support his establishment in order to make as much money as he conscientiously can, instead of considering what improvements in construction or internal economy he can introduce which would add to the comfort or the sanitary wellbeing of his patients. That the Quebec Lunatic Asylum is run at less cost than any other is a damaging admission, even admitting that the

standard of living of the French Canadian *habitant* is not high. It means that either there is unnecessary extravagance everywhere else, or unjustifiable economy at Beauport. The other insane asylums in the Province of Quebec receive the same allowance per patient as the Beauport Asylum, but the Verdun Protestant Asylum is under a board of managers, and no profit is made out of the care of the inmates. In the case of this Protestant Asylum, public subscriptions supplement the Government grant to an amount which enables the management to expend on the patients an amount approaching \$200.00 per head. The more the Government beats down the contractor, the more he is compelled to meet the cut by economies which must be made out of the wellbeing of the patients; and if additional buildings have to be erected, they must almost inevitably be planned and constructed with the view to cheapness rather than the highest hygienic principles and perfect safety from fire. Dr. Tuke in 1884 visited the Asylums of Ontario and Quebec. The State conducted Asylum of Ontario received his commendatory notice; the Asylums at Longue Pointe and Beauport he considered a disgrace. He ends his criticism as follows: "The Proprietors only receive \$11.00 per head per month for maintenance and clothing.* The system involves the probability of their being sacrificed to the interests of the Proprietors. It has the disastrous tendency to keep the dietary as low as possible, to lead to a deficiency in the supply of clothing and

*The amount now paid is only \$9.66.

to a minimum of attendants, thus inducing a want of proper attention to the patients and an excessive resort to mechanical restraints, instead of the individual personal care which is so needful for their happiness and the promotion of their recovery. I consider that the number of attendants in such an asylum should not be less than one to seven instead of one to fifteen; and that a higher class should be obtained by giving higher wages."

In 1887 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the lunatic asylums of the Province. It reported in the following year. The following extract is made from the *Morning Chronicle's* condensation of the Report:

The Woman's Hospital was inspected by the Commissioners, and they, it must be confessed, found much to criticise. "In the infirmary there were many defects to notice. The light and ventilation were found to be defective, and even patients suffering merely from temporary illness remain in the infirmary all the time. All the wards, with the exception of Nos. 12 and 14, which are simply deplorable, are fairly well kept. Wards 12 and 14 are in the top story, and the roof may be touched with the hand. The patients are simply in pens. The dormitories reserved for the better class of patients are in a satisfactory condition and are kept clean. The mattresses are made of straw. Putting it mildly, the Commissioners say that much is left to be wished for in the cells, especially in those of the uncleanly patients. The bedsteads are of wood or iron. Many of the dormitories are overcrowded, and there is not sufficient space in them to ensure the comfort of the patients. The baths and privies are badly kept and in general are dirty. The patients are permitted to stay in them an unnecessarily long time. The ordinary refectories are large, airy and well lighted. The patients are allowed spoons only at their meals, and of

course, many of them eat with their fingers. The patients are hurried too much at their meals, and complaints are indicated of the inattention of keepers. The food supplied seems to be atrocious. It is indifferent in quality, lacking in quantity and not sufficiently varied. A decided improvement in the food supplied to the unfortunate inmates is urgently demanded. Though the clothing of the female patients is pretty good as a rule, the Commissioners found that in certain wards, there was much to be desired in this respect. The cells are too numerous, and are back to back. They have no windows. Light only comes in from the corridors by small openings made in the doors or from above. Again complaint is made of the insufficiency of light and ventilation. All the wards are overcrowded, and the curable and incurable patients, are mixed up together, with the patients suffering from chronic mania, and those affected with *dementia* and other similar diseases. This system, the Commissioners rightly condemn as serious obstacles in the way of curing those susceptible of cure. During their visit, the Commissioners saw many patients under means of restraint, and this restraint appeared to be in excessive use. Probably on this point the keepers could be interrogated with advantage. On visiting the men's hospital at the Beauport Asylum, the Commissioners found matters very much as they found them in the female department. Bad ventilation, imperfect light, filth, infectious smells, absolutely bad hygienic condition of the rooms, poor food, scanty appliances, overcrowding of the cells, dirty and ill-clothed patients, &c., proved the rule rather than the exception. As a rule the keepers can neither read nor write. They are not properly dressed, and the pay they receive is inadequate. The night service is bad and inadequate. Many of the patients have no winter clothing, and this compels the keepers to force them to remain indoors during the cold weather. Many of the patients never go out at all, solely because they have no clothes to wear. In summer, the patients go out in an enclosed courtyard every day. The courtyard for the men, however, is unsuitable, because, after a rain storm, it takes two days before it gets dry enough for

the patients to use it. There are too few keepers to look after all the patients. Though registration of all cases of restraint is supposed to be kept, the Commissioners have reason to believe that the registers are not regularly kept. The cubic space allowed each patient in the dormitories and cells is below the average." This fearful exhibit of the way things are managed at the Beauport Asylum, will awaken in the breasts of all men and women, feelings of the greatest indignation. We will return to this report again. In the meantime, there is food for reflection in what we publish to-day.

Presumably many of these shortcomings complained of have been remedied. But the buildings would have to be rebuilt to bring them up to the level of modern requirements. And no matter what the conditions are today, the defects mentioned are incidental to the vicious system of farming out, and will continue in a more or less aggravated degree as long as the system continues to be adopted.

No stronger argument against the farming out system could be used than the plea of Sister M. du Redempteur, Superioress of the Sisters of Charity, who own the Longue Pointe Asylum. She says in the Report for 1907 to the Inspectors of Prisons and Insane Asylums of the Province of Quebec:

Sirs,

The year 1907 has made us feel, yet more than in previous years, the insufficiency of the indemnity we receive from the government.

All things necessary to life have attained prices almost prohibitive for us. We had to retrench on all sides in spite of our wish to do otherwise. We had even to discontinue the regular use of the electric tramway, connecting our main establishment with the village of Longue Pointe, near which

is Ste Thérèse residence and dependencies, St. Isidore Residence and the wharves.

The need of enlarging is more and more felt. We have now temporary chapels which occupy space that might be devoted to the patients.

For that, we would have to build; but the enormous debt weighing on our shoulders prevents us. Not a cent have we been able to pay yet on the million dollars borrowed for the construction of our present building.

We are asked to follow the progresses made in the care of the insane even to anticipate them. Nothing pleases us more than to improve and improve constantly; but we must have the means and that is what we lack. We have a petition before the government setting forth these things and we are trusting always that this petition will have the effect. In the meantime we suffer.

The Government seems to flatter itself that the cost of board per head per annum is only \$112.00. It should be ashamed of admitting that its unfortunate insane are supported and treated at such an insufficient sum, and that as a consequence the directors of asylums have to admit that they cannot "follow the progresses made in the care of the insane" by reason that they "must have the means, and that is what they lack." The Sisters of Charity may be the most efficient managers of insane asylums, but the hospital should be supported by Government, and kept up to the standard of the highest therapeutic efficiency. Under the present contract system, whose highest recommendation is that the cost to the Province per head is less than is expended on the insane by any other civilized community in the world, the only conclusion to be drawn is that either the contractors or the patients are being starved. Which is it? Perhaps both!!!

CHAPTER IX

MY FATHER'S FRIENDS—SANE AND INSANE

My father had friends among the Roman Catholic clergy. He fully appreciated their heroism, as only those can, who, like him, see their devotion to duty, especially in seasons of pestilence. When the typhus fever epidemic, which followed the Irish famine, filled the Marine Hospital, and its temporary sheds to overflowing, with dying emigrants and seamen, he could not but admire the spirit of martyrdom, which nerved the priest to breathe the very breath of death, when receiving the last confession, before administering extreme unction. But he did disapprove of and reprobate in most unambiguous terms the endeavors made by the same priests to gather into the fold, at the last moment, when consciousness, or at least volition, had departed, Protestants who would have died rather than wittingly renounce their faith. Enveigling moribund Protestants into the Church was after all as much an act of duty, on the part of the priests, and, considering the risk they ran, equally heroic, as the much vaunted courage of the renowned Jesuit Fathers Joques and Goupil in jeopardizing their lives to save the souls of Iroquois babies. But

though the act of the Quebec priests, committed within the stone walls of the Hospital, may not have differed in kind from that of the Jesuit missionaries, when they watched their opportunity to baptize unobserved the Mohawk babies, my father's views of fair play made him oppose the one even though he may have regarded with admiration the other. He of course believed that the priests' performance was supremely innocuous to the individual operated on; but he had witnessed once the horror with which a Scotch Presbyterian, on wakening to the last short glimpse of conscious life, which is sometimes vouchsafed to the dying, learnt that he had become a Roman. And he knew how harrowing it was to the feelings of survivors to hear that their lost ones had forsaken the faith of their fathers.

The priest above all others whom he most enjoyed was Father MacMahon of St. Patrick's Church, probably because they both possessed to a high degree the faculty of telling and appreciating a good story. Father MacMahon was one of the Lever type of Irish priests, who ruled the boisterous elements of his congregation with blows, when words could no longer be heard. He was a great favorite with the men to whom his skill in handling the stick and his ready wit endeared him; while the women worshipped him for his great charity, his kindly interest in everyone's joys and sorrows, and his homely eloquence. He always spoke to the point, but of course reserved his greatest oratorical efforts for St. Patrick's Day, when he preached a political sermon, full of allusions, that stirred the susceptible hearts of

his countrymen and drew a throng of the hated Saxons, all his good friends, who came to hear their villainous deeds described in such harsh warm terms by the warmhearted priest. We had a cook, "Old Norah." She was always "Old Norah," for she never knew her own age. She was "Old Norah" when she came to us in 1842, and was "Old Norah" when we left her in Canada in 1875. She mourned for Father MacMahon when he died, with a pathetic grief. She held any priest, even a French priest, in reverence, but her devotion to Father MacMahon was as far removed from mere superstitious reverence as from that sickly sentimentality with which Protestants sometimes regard a popular divine. It was a tender personal attachment, etherialized by the veneration in which she held him for his spiritual office, and his supposed exaltation, by reason of that office, above the weaknesses of humanity. In course of time the French Archbishop saw fit, perhaps wisely, to place St. Patrick's congregation under the Redemptorist Fathers. The St. Patrick's parsonage under their austere rule was no longer the house of genial hearty welcome it had been under Father MacMahon and his successor; and its kitchen ceased to be the place of adjournment for as many of the congregation as could crowd into it from the church after mass. Old Norah revered the monks, but she never loved them like her old Father. By their strict discipline and temperance the Redemptorists did good work, but by methods less tangible than those of the jovial yet irascible parish priest.

"Father MacMahon's postscript" is to this day a

well understood argument. One of his parishioners went to him with a grievance which the good father was not inclined to admit. Failing to persuade him, the angry man threatened to resort to the Bishop, and if the Bishop would not right his wrongs, to appeal to the Pope. Father MacMahon listened to the tirade, which was fanned into violence by the priest's apparently cool indifference. When it had exhausted itself, he led the angry member of his flock, which never contained many lambs, to the door, kicked him with one bound into the street and bade him put that into the postscript of his letter to the Pope.

Another figure of those long gone by days presents itself, whom my father held in highest esteem. It was Bishop Mountain of the Church of England. He was in person like a geometrical line—length without breadth, and his lean figure, its leanness exaggerated by his ecclesiastical costume, swayed and waved, as he walked, like a willow sapling in the breeze. His life in its simple piety, and extended labors, recalled that of such medieval missionaries as St. Boniface. His diocese covered the whole American Continent, north of the United States Boundary. Few if any even of the Hudson Bay Agents have traveled by canoe a greater number of miles than he on his episcopal visitations to the wilds of the North West.

The Cathedral in those good old times was presided over by Dr. Mackie, the very *beau ideal*, in comfortable corpulence, dignity of bearing, and general culture, of an English Rector before Pusyism entered between the old order of things and the new.

He also has gone to his rest. But as important a personage in the Cathedral as the Bishop or the Rector, was the organist, dear old Mr. Codman. He was built up of nerves. He might have served for Hogarth's enraged musician. I have been with him in the organ loft when his exertions at the foot pedals shook down the railings and curtains about our ears. This added anger to ecstasy, and in the fury that followed he wrecked the loft, and damaged the organ, till pedal after pedal and key after key refused to respond to his kicks and his blows. I was dismayed but the charity children safe in the gallery above us, enjoyed the fun. He was beardless, almost hairless, the veins coursing red across his cheeks. When angry he stamped, and strode among his pupils and the dumb pianos, storming at his pupils, and threatening corporal violence. When pleased his delight was almost as unbounded, and his sheer artistic frenzy so carried him away that once he kissed before his class a pretty pupil. When he laughed every limb and muscle joined in the merriment, and a joke always turned the tide of his anger into laughter; I am ashamed to say that we went to class prepared to take advantage of this weakness. Whenever we anticipated a storm of our own raising, we could always calm the tempest by recalling a *bon-mot* of my father, who passing him once when working in his garden, commended him for enjoying his "*otium cum digging potaties.*" He died in 1851, suddenly, without any symptom of disease, glad to escape what he dreaded more than death, lunacy. He knew that he stood on that un-

defined line, between sanity and insanity, a line no alienist has been able to draw.

One conspicuous figure remains of my father's old friends, and he was his closest and truest for more than half a century. He was the only man my father looked to for advice and his advice was often followed. I refer of course to Dr. Cook of St. Andrews.

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From the date of his retirement from general practice in 1851 till 1866, when he sold the Asylum, its management and extension claimed most of his time and thought.

There never was a medical superintendent more beloved by his patients than was he. They called him in all sincerity their father. When he went through the wards they clustered round him like children. He had a kind word for all. He possessed that rare tact, so essential to all who would control the insane, of throwing them off the scent of their false fancies, without contradicting and irritating them. However irritable he himself might be with people accounted sane, he never lost his temper with those admittedly insane. In his medical treatment he put little faith in drugs as specifically curative agents in mental disease. His reliance was on the *vis medicatrix naturae*. Strengthened by his surgical experience of her marvelous regenerative powers in repairing injured organs, he was perhaps too skeptical as to the efficacies of drugs in restoring disturbed functions. Whether rightly or wrongly, he was opposed to their administration when intended to act directly on the nervous system. He confined

his treatment to maintaining his patients in as perfect a state of health as possible, and directing their thoughts from their diseased channels by work and amusements. The Thursday evening ball began with the opening of the Asylum, and he never failed to attend it himself. The ball was supplemented latterly by an additional weekly entertainment, consisting of a concert, a magic lantern exhibition or of theatricals, in which some of the patients took part.

And like all who have had to do with those helpless, overgrown children of God's afflicted family, he was not only keenly interested in their treatment, but deeply attached to many of them. The insane often reciprocate ardently kindness and sympathy; and by a peculiar perversion of instinct, transfer to the guardian, intrusted with their care, the affections which they lose for those whom they once loved, and who by family ties should claim their attachment.

But of course, as among the men and women who are by general consent assigned a place on the rational side of that ambiguous boundary, which divides society into sane and insane, most are uninteresting and commonplace, so, among the inmates of an asylum, those who display marked characteristics are in the great minority. On the other hand not a few, especially of the gentler sex, who are subject to attacks of periodical mania, rise during the paroxysm to a plane of intellectual brilliancy, as well as magnificent facial expressiveness, which transforms them into more exalted beings than when in their normal condition. They do not quite forget the ecstasy, when restored to placidity. They even seem sometimes to remember

it with regret. One is reminded by these cases of the temporary elevation to which passion raises ordinary folk, who are not inmates of an asylum.

But while commonplace is the rule, the eccentricity of thought among the clever insane is often startling. One of our patients had been a preacher, though not of any recognized denomination, and he called himself the Prophet of the North. He had in his satchel a number of newspaper clippings, describing his adventures. He had girt himself with a sword to typify the Sword of the Spirit, and this had gotten him occasionally into trouble, though it was a very rusty, harmless implement. Then he had more than once accepted the call to discuss certain religious subjects, at public assemblies, and had actually in his innocence taken the invitations literally; and been roughly handled, because he insisted on propounding his views—all of which departures from conventional usages had landed him in Ward No. 1. He did not resent the confinement, but accepted it as philosophically as another of his fellow patients, who, believing in the rule of the majority, recognized that the world thought one way and he another, and that numbers being decidedly against him, the world very properly used its power to put him, where he could not, by any possibility, put the world. The Prophet had in his face all the shrewdness of a Yankee, accentuated by the animation of a fanatic; and his sayings were sometimes clever. Discussing the history of Abraham, he insisted that circumstances altered cases; for Abraham once, considering himself under a divine command to com-

mit murder, was about to kill his son when his hand was stayed. The act was accounted to him for righteousness; but if he had lived in these days, what would have happened? Sarah would have sworn out a warrant, would have had him adjudged insane and incarcerated him in an asylum. The intention would have been accounted anything but righteousness. The comment was made in no irreverent spirit, and it conveyed a truth. Again animadverting on the ambiguity of philosophical and theological language, I recollect his saying that people talked of latent truth in the Bible and physicists talked of latent heat in a snowball—but how many snowballs would it take to heat an oven?

Another patient, whose great burly figure and good-natured, smiling face made him a conspicuous personality in our little community, worked in the blacksmith shop. He was one of that large class of incapables who are neither feeble in mind nor in body, and yet lack the initiative which enables them to care for themselves in this busy, pushing world. There are many of them out of, who would be happier and cost the world less were they in, an asylum. Poor Curry one luckless day attracted the attention of the Commissioners, who considered that if he were able to do good blacksmithing for the institution he could support himself by his trade, and so he was discharged. Ere long the medical superintendent of the asylum was called upon to sit on a lunacy case. Curry had enlisted in the army, and was found so irresponsible to military rule that the army officers came to the correct conclusion that the refrac-

tory recruit was insane. So he returned, jubilant as a school-boy released for his vacation, to the asylum. Some time afterwards he disappeared; no trace could be found of him; but after the lapse of about three weeks he reappeared, very thin and very tired and very hungry, but very happy. He had had a dream that there was a certain old lady in New England who could tell him something greatly to his advantage. So off he tramped on foot some one hundred and fifty miles into New England. Fairly arrived, he met on the public road the very old lady who had appeared to him in his dream. He told her who he was and of his visions. She listened, pondered, gave him a good dinner and advised him to return by the way he had come. I would have made a pilgrimage myself of one hundred and fifty miles afoot to have met such a dear, wise old lady! Curry's delusions by day or by night never again tempted him away from his refuge.

Criminal lunacy has always been and always will be a perplexing branch of the science. There are cases which common sense can easily settle—others which no sense can satisfactorily solve. There was a girl in the asylum, a quiet, very intelligent, modest creature, committed for drowning her sister's child in a well. She had lived till womanhood in the world; seen the temptations which beset her sex; witnessed the baptism of her sister's child; believed it, by falsely interpreting the teaching of her church, to be sure of translation at once if sent to heaven speedily before it committed actual sin; and therefore she decided to act as intermediary between the

priest and Paradise by killing it without delay. The courts could entertain no doubt as to her merciful motive; nevertheless, though she reasoned and acted logically from her own premises, she was very properly prevented from doing so again.

A more doubtful acquittal, and yet perhaps as righteous a one, was that of old Corrigan. He was in a tavern; had drunk, but not to excess. He was refused more liquor by his friend, the saloonkeeper, and without further provocation he felled him with an ax. At all times subsequently to the murder he denied the faintest recollection of the act, and by no examination or cross-questioning could he be brought to commit himself to any admission which would imply memory of the occurrence. He was turned over to our care, and a more harmless, benevolent old man never breathed. His affections were divided between flowers and children. He tended with skill and care the former in the asylum windows, and as the only children on whom he could expend his more than paternal devotion were idiots, he devoted his life to the repulsive task of nursing them and relieving their wants. He knew why he was in durance and accepted the terrible inevitableness of lifelong imprisonment among the insane without a murmur, nor did he ever take advantage of any opportunity of escape.

The great majority of our patients belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, which may be one reason why the disease so seldom assumed the type of religious mania. Pure religion never turned a human mind from the paths of sobriety, but those paroxysms

of morbid excitement, falsely called religious revivals, which are supposed to be most successful and grateful to the Deity, the greater the number of hysterical people who fall down in fits, do induce insanity. This form of excitation is not practised by the Roman Catholic Church.* But now and then we had patients who set an example to their saner brethren. There was one staunch old Christian, who, scandalized by his fellow-patients gobbling down their food without asking a blessing, always stood in his place and said a long grace. He as invariably paid the penalty of his religion, for the occupants of adjacent seats, while he was at his devotions, purloined some of his dinner.

I go back every year to see my old friends. Of the 800 only two remain, but of the fate of the departed I feel no anxiety, for the notions entertained by peoples whom we count less civilized than ourselves, that the insane are the special objects of God's kind providence, is assuredly true.

The asylum is now owned and under the charge of the Sisters of Charity. One of our old patients was, when we resigned the management, subject to fits of periodical mania, which with advancing age disappeared. When I called to see my old friends, after a parting of nearly twenty years, dear old Ellen Cleary fell upon my neck and kissed me. The lady superior must have been touched, but the rules of her order evidently obliged her to turn her back.

*Among the great mass of worshippers, though the ecstasy of its saints is only another form of this abnormal mental condition.

CHAPTER X

AS A TEMPERANCE LECTURER

Though my father held himself aloof from politics, he took an active part in the temperance movement.

Early in his professional career he was horrified by the examples he saw among his friends of the degrading effects of intemperance. He was in the habit of taking a glass of gin and water every evening, but, returning from a case of delirium tremens, he registered a silent vow to abstain from all alcoholic stimulants. During the typhus fever epidemic, when his digestion became seriously impaired, he took a glass of wine for his dinner, but, barring this one exception, he adhered rigidly to his self-imposed promise till after his retirement from professional life. He was one of the most ardent advocates of teetotalism in Father Matthew's day, and insisted on laying down for others strict temperance regulations.

"During many years," he said, "I had charge of the Surgical wards of the Marine and Emigrants Hospital. For urgent reasons I had obtained the passage of a rule prohibiting the use of any intoxi-

eating drink in the Hospital, except under the written prescription of the visiting physician. Instant discharge was the penalty of its infraction. My regular visiting hour during the week was at 10 A. M., and on Sunday at 4 P. M. When however a case occurred requiring particular attention, I visited it at indifferent times. On one such occasion, on entering my private room for the purpose of leaving my hat and whip, I found the Steward and a Roman Catholic clergyman drinking brandy and water. I addressed the priest in very plain terms. I dilated on the fact that he, the *custos morum* of the community, gave by his example, a sanction to a habit which he well knew had demoralized the Hospital and was bringing hundreds in the city to misery and to an untimely grave. He looked excessively indignant; he made no reply, but snatching up his hat, he hurriedly left the apartment.

"Some years afterwards, after having given a lecture on temperance and an analysis of the intoxicating drinks in common use, I was waited upon by a very intelligent looking priest, who introduced himself to me as Mr. Chiniquy, the Curé of Beauport. He said that he believed his parish to be the most drunken one in lower Canada, and that I would confer an obligation on him and do good, by giving the same lecture and experiments to his people. He remarked to me that he thought I had forgotten the occasion of my first interview with him, in the consulting room of the Marine Hospital. I was surprised and amused when he told me that he was the young priest to whom I had given his first lecture on

total abstinence. He said that at the moment he had the greatest difficulty in restraining himself from a reply to what he considered an outrageous attack upon himself personally, and upon his sacred character as a priest. On going up Crown Street, however, he said to himself, 'The man is disrespectful, — he is however right, and I will never taste intoxicating drinks again.' He religiously kept his word from that moment. I am satisfied that Mr. Chiniquy's exertions in the cause of temperance have been the means of saving a multitude of souls from perdition, and some thousands of bodies from an early grave.*

"I have had occasion to admire Mr. Chiniquy's pluck and perseverance in the face of difficulties and obstacles, which to ordinary men would have been insurmountable. After my lecture and experiments at the Presbytère, Mr. Chiniquy went to work among his parishioners with a will. He preached and exhorted and threatened to bury the bodies of the intemperate in unconsecrated ground among the suicides and those dying in mortal sin. He did effect great and most salutary changes. Among others, he rendered travelling on the turnpike safe and pleasant, which previously, from the recklessness of drunken *habitants* was extremely dangerous. At one time I noticed people in their carts passing along my

* Father Chiniquy was regarded as the Apostle of Temperance in Lower Canada, while Curé of Kannraaka (Kamourasko) in 1844 he published a very persuasive plea in favor of temperance and the organization of local Temperance Societies — under the title of *Manuel du Règlement de la Société de Temperance*.

beach from the town. I could not account for their doing so, as there was no track and sometimes very great difficulty and danger from the overflowing of the tide. On inquiry I was told that Mr. Chiniquy had converted all his parishioners to total abstinence, excepting a very few individuals who could not refrain, whenever they went to town. Finding all his exhortations, his prayers and his supplications in their behalf of no avail, he had come to the conclusion that they were under the direct dominion of the Devil, and that all that could be done for them was to pray for them. He therefore directed his parishioners, whenever they met one of them on the road, to offer up a short prayer in their behalf. This drove the unfortunate individuals off the road, and was the means, or was said to be the means, of their ultimate conversion. Soon afterwards Canada was favored by a visit of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nancy from France. He was a prelate of high rank in the Church, a philosopher, a man of letters and a staunch advocate of total abstinence principles. Mr. Chiniquy improved the occasion of his visit to Canada by inviting him to be present at the erection of a monument in Beauport to commemorate the fact that there was not one individual in the parish known to use intoxicating drinks. The monument was inaugurated with great pomp and religious ceremonies. It is however a curious psychological fact that now, occasionally, a *habitant*, on his return from market, sees two monuments, instead of a single one.

"Some time afterwards Father Chiniquy left Canada to take the charge of a French colony in one of

the Western States. Since then his conduct, his changes of opinion on religious matters and on others, are subjects of local history. I have merely to state that since my first acquaintance with Mr. Chiniquy I have never known him to commit any act or deed, or utter anything inconsistent with his character as a minister of a Christian Church, and a sincere servant of God. It is rather significant that I never heard of his having committed any such act or deed, until after his change of opinion on religious matters and doctrines.

"In recording these facts and recollections I think it is quite proper to subjoin my last correspondence with Mr. Chiniquy, and to say that it is interpolated in this journal and notes, which were written while I was confined to bed, with a broken leg.

"Glenalla, May 1875.

"My dear Sir:—

"Since my accident I have filled up an occasional hour in jotting down recollections of my life and of the principal persons whom I have met, and been interested in. A late copy of the Witness has reminded me to send you those of my acquaintance and correspondence with you. If you have time and patience to read it, return it to me, with any notes or corrections you may think it necessary to make. '*Tempus edax rerum*'; It has eaten away my clear and distinct memories of the past. I will be glad to have them refreshed by you.

"Yours very truly,

"(Sd) J. Douglas.

"Rev. C. Chiniquy."

"Montreal, 22nd May, 1875.

"Dr. Douglas:

"Your kind letter, with your memoirs have been handed to me by the Rev. Mr. Campbell, only two days ago, on my return here from Illinois.

"Everything corresponds well with my own memories of that time, with the exception that I find in my daily memorandums that you had had the kindness to invite me a good many times to attend the autopsies of dead bodies of men and women, in the brain, lungs, nerves, etc., etc., of whom you made me observe the ravages of alkohol in the human frame. You also very kindly put into my hands a good number of excellent books, written by the most learned men of England, France Germany and America, which entirely upset my former views about the use of wine, beer, etc. I find in these memoirs that after God it is to you that I owe the principles and science and light which the good providence of God has allowed me to scatter and sow all over Canada.

"May the great God who has chosen you as the instrument of his mercies towards me and my dear countrymen, keep you still many years full of life and strength; and may he pour upon you and your family most abundant blessings in time and in eternity.

"Believe me,

"My Dear Mr. Douglas,

"Your forever grateful friend,

"(Sd) C. Chiniquy."



Age eighty-five

Father Chiniquy wrote my father again in 1880 as follows:

“Ste. Anne, Kankakee Co., Illinois

“Dr. Douglas, 15th October, 1880.

“Very dear old friend—

“On my arrival here I have found your kind letter of the 30th, inviting me to go to visit you at Phoenixville. Unfortunately when it came to Philadelphia I was just gone to New York. I am so sorry that I have missed the pleasure of seeing you again. For, my dear Mr. Douglas, you do not know how you are dear to me. After God it is to you that I owe the success of my life. It is from you that I got the first notion and principles of that temperance, with the glorious and blessed banners of which I have marched in triumph from one end to the other of Canada. Never will I forget the learned lessons on the injuries done by alcohol in the human frame you gave me when dissecting some corpses of drunkards at the hospital of Marine, nor the admirable and scientific experiences you made, during nearly a whole week, in the parsonage of Beauport, to show to my people that alcohol is a poison.

“Nor will I ever forget the tender care you gave me when very sick at St. Roche from typhoid fever. Nor the friendly rebuke you gave me when you tried to show me that my cure was not a miraculous one. You may have forgotten all these things, if you did not put them in your daily records, as I have done. But I will never forget them—they are written in my memory, in my heart and in my daily records of that time.”

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

In his business transactions my father displayed a strange mixture of distrust and credulity. He refused to invest his savings in the ordinary repositories, because he had witnessed a few instances of breach of trust; but he unhesitatingly invested them in enterprises of which he understood absolutely nothing, on the advice of men whose experience and intelligence did not entitle them to be accepted as safe guides.

A cashier of the Quebec Branch of the City Bank had defaulted when my father first had money to invest, and this decided him to distrust all banks and bank cashiers. In those days the rents of Quebec city property paid more than the taxes, and he bought houses; but as time passed he remarked the declining importance of the city and disposed of them in time. He thenceforward invested exclusively in mining and wild lands. His land speculations, though not brilliant, were fairly profitable. He owned the whole Township of Dorset, on the Chaudiere, and land around Black Lake, which is now the scene of active asbestos and chromic iron mining. But his

mining operations were without exception disastrous. He prosecuted them, nevertheless, with the same determined energy and fatalistic reliance in his luck which characterized all he undertook. As his ventures were all badly made, they engulfed his whole estate and left him without property or resource at an age when he could not possibly retrieve his fortunes. He bore his reverses, however, without a groan, and, what still more bespoke his manliness, without reflection on others. He hoped and believed as long as he remained in Canada, but when his hopes were finally shattered and his beliefs proved themselves groundless, he gave up his property, and, what was harder still, his reputation for shrewdness, without a murmur. In his later years he bemoaned the gradual decline of his mental powers, but never the loss of his money.

He commenced his fatal experiences in mining by searching for gold on the Chaudière. A nugget had been really discovered some years before. A woman taking a horse to water found another nugget in one of the tributaries of the Chaudière, in the Seigniory of St. Francis. This, coming to the notice of Lieut. Badderly, of the Royal Engineers, in 1834, he published a description of it in *Silliman's Journal*. But gold mining did not appeal to even the most speculative till the California gold fever had spread over the world like an epidemic and reached Canada. In 1846 Mr. de Lery obtained a patent, giving him the exclusive right to mine for gold within the limits of the seigniory. He sold his rights to the Chaudière Mining Company, of which my father was one of the

principal shareholders, for a royalty, afterwards commuted into a fixed sum. The company, under the management of a Mr. Cunningham, spent considerable money and recovered some gold at a considerable loss on the River Gilbert. My father, instead of giving up the enterprise, bought out his fellow shareholders. He continued doing some work spasmodically, or permitting the *habitants* to wash the gravels on a royalty, till he sold his rights, in 1863, for \$4,000. No remunerative systematic mining was ever done, nor were the placer deposits large enough to warrant a large outlay for their economical treatment. But the gravel in the beds of the two streams, the La Plante and the Tuf de Pin, or Gilbert, were in places, where the rock ledges dammed the streams, extraordinarily rich. I once received, as a 25 per cent. royalty, two and a half pounds of gold dust from four men who, with no other appliances than tin pans, had washed at least ten pounds of the precious metal out of the bed of the La Plante.

But copper mining had long before that date supplanted gold mining in my father's estimation. Copper ore was found on Lot 4 of the Second Range in the Township of Inverness, County of Megantic, some six years before mining was commenced in 1850. The ore was rich enough to tempt the most phlegmatic. The Megantic Mining Company was organized to acquire those lots and others in the adjacent township of New Ireland, and active work was carried on for some years in both townships. My father was the most active member of the company. But the masses of rich ore were small and the extensive

beds of lean ore were too lean to pay. The Megantic Mining Company, however, still exists, and may yet be revived. The discoveries subsequently made of copper in Leeds were so much more enticing that they tempted him on to his financial ruin. The discovery of these deposits was made in the forties. The Lower Canada Mining Company acquired the land and did some exploratory work. In the spring of 1853 the famous John Arthur Phillips was sent by John Taylor & Son to examine the property, and my father and I accompanied him to the mines. His report was not favorable enough to induce that cautious firm to recommend their clients to buy, though Phillips was very much impressed with the surface indications. The Lower Canada Mining Company worked on till 1856, with ever more promising prospects, shipping small parcels of very rich ore from superficial lenses of comparatively small size, at which date it was apparently reorganized as the Quebec and St. Francis Mining Company. This company sold the property in 1858 to the English and Canadian Mining Company on the following terms: "The original capital of the company is to be £40,000. Sterling. The shares in one-half of the capital are to be issued to the shareholders of the Canadian Company, as fully paid up shares. Out of the money raised by the shares in the other half of the Capital £4,000. is to be paid to the Directors of the Canadian Company, the remaining £16,000. is to be the working capital of the Company." This insignificant working capital was exhausted in a very few years, but the result of work was the opening of

a large bed of ore, supposed to average three per cent., and a lode, supposed to be exceedingly rich—the Fanny Eliza Lode. The report of 1862 says: “The funds at the disposal of your Directors being so nearly exhausted, it has been their study to suspend, as far as possible, all work not tending towards immediate profit.” But the results, if not remunerative, were sufficiently promising to induce a Boston firm to attempt to float the Harvey Hill Mining and Smelting Company in 1863. The attempt failed, as did also the endeavor of the old shareholders to reorganize as the London & Quebec Copper Mining Company, with a capital of £100,000. Meanwhile the company had commenced to accumulate a debt, and the English shareholders, like wise business men, had decided to pocket their losses and close the mine, when my father passed through London on his way to Egypt in the winter of 1863-64. Satisfied that the mine was all that his fancy and that of Mr. Williams, the superintendent, pictured it as being, and confident, as usual, in his luck and his judgment, he offered the English shareholders to buy all their stock at a ridiculous figure and to pay all their debts.

Up to that date he had put into the enterprise more money than was prudent, but not more than he could afford to lose. To meet these heavy obligations he had to mortgage all his property. Having become a majority stockholder, the minority allowed him to find the working capital, so that in the course of a few years, for the erection of works and as losses on operations, he had a claim against the company of over a hundred thousand dollars, which

claim, of course, the company could not pay. The mine was worked continuously, and for several years the proceeds, despite the unfavorable transportation conditions, covered all working expenses; but they never did more. The situation was becoming desperate when the boom in copper speculation of 1872 nearly saved him. A firm of brokers bonded the property at £60,000 and made a small forfeitable payment. The same firm of brokers, unfortunately, had also bonded the Ives copper mine in the Province of Quebec. Instead of offering the Harvey Hill at a fair advance, they consolidated the two and put them on the market at £300,000. Just then the famous Mr. Huntington, who unearthed the Canadian Pacific scandal, was offering his copper mine, near the Ives mine, to the British public. He wrote to the papers, throwing doubt on the value of the consolidated property. The stock had been subscribed, but the board wisely decided to send an independent mining engineer to Canada to examine and report on the Harvey Hill and Ives mines. He reported favorably on the Harvey Hill, but as emphatically condemned the Ives, and therefore the shareholders received back their subscriptions. The directors thereupon attempted to float a company to purchase Harvey Hill alone, but the boom had burst. They, however, got up a company which provided a small working capital—the Harvey Hill Copper Company, Ltd. But the money was very injudiciously spent, and the company in course of time went out of existence. Meanwhile my father had turned over his entire interest in the mine to his creditors, and had succeeded in

selling his township of Dorset and other lands at a figure which enabled him to liquidate the mortgages upon them. That done, he consented to accompany me, in 1875, to the States, where I had secured a situation as superintendent of a small metallurgical company in Pennsylvania. He had spent half a century in Quebec. He lived for eleven years longer in Phoenixville, Pa., and New York.

We took with us a carload of our old belongings from Glenalla—a few pictures, two statues by Randolph Rogers, which could not have been sold in Quebec, and my father's Egyptian collection.* The old stone house which we occupied in Phoenixville had a glazed veranda, in which the mummies and other curiosities were exposed, and where my father made and painted plaster casts from the squeezes we had taken for sculptures on the temple walls of Egypt. The mummies were popularly supposed to be the bodies of our ancestors, which we religiously carried about with us. They inspired such awe that, though burglaries were common, our house was never broken into.

My father was the most popular man in the little town. He contributed recollections of his travels to the local newspaper; spun travelers' tales by the yard, and was everybody's friend. His powers of narrative never failed him. Though his memory became defective, he could always fill the gaps by drawing upon his imagination. He left all care with his shattered fortune behind him in Canada, and the

*The statues and the Egyptian collection are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

last years of his life were peaceful and happy. He was prostrated by a stroke of paralysis on April 10th, 1886, and died on April 14th, without recovering consciousness. He rests in the cemetery at Mount Hermon, Quebec, which he was instrumental in creating.

THE END

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